

The University of Chicago

THE SWEDISH NATIONALITY
MOVEMENT IN FINLAND

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

1937

By

ANDERS MATTSON MYHRMAN

Private Edition, Distributed by
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A Tempest in a Teapot

The usual initiation celebration was held by the Aboensic student nation¹ at the University of Helsingfors in the year 1852. An account of this occasion reads in part as follows:

Compared with other occasions of this kind, it appeared as if the purpose of the gathering had been entirely forgotten. The glasses were left untouched for long periods, and instead of a hearty and general fraternizing there were small groups engaged in violent disputes as if it had been a matter of life and death. . . . These violent disputes were caused by a shabby epithet, a ghost from the past. In the midst of a discussion . . . someone applied to the opposing opinion an antiquated and for purposes at hand inappropriate party epithet. That word, when once spoken, revived images which spread eudemically to everyone as if through a nervous infection of the psychic atmosphere. The first group grew rapidly and then divided; the smaller cliques then showed the same development, till the whole gathering was on fire. Bodies which are in a state of dissolution are easily ignited, and this time the spark was the word Fennomanism.²

The incident which is thus related by one of the participants is significant for present purposes in several ways. It marks the beginning of the language fight among the students at the university; it suggests that the term Fennomanism already had a long history behind it and had become charged with, and was capable of arousing, sentiments and emotions; it reveals that these Swedish-speaking students harbored conflicting ideas of na-

¹The students at the Scandinavian universities have traditionally been organized into "nations," the students from a given province constituting the nation of that name. Their functions have been largely social.

²Arvid Mörne, Axel Olof Freudenthal och den Finlands-svenska Nationalitetstanken (Helsingfors, 1927), pp. 14-15.

The term Fennomani seems to have been used for the first time by a writer in the Lyceum in 1910 in the sense of devotion to the study of the history of Finland and of Finnish folklore. It persisted in that sense for several decades but then gradually took on also the meaning of bitter opposition to everything Swedish. Finally, it was used as a regular party name during the last third of the century.

tionality. But of still greater significance for the purpose at hand is the fact that this initial dispute gave rise to a prolonged discussion in the student paper Kaukomieli in the course of which the idea was for the first time stated and propounded that there exists a Swedish nationality in Finland, as distinct from the Finnish nationality.¹

A Bird's-eye View

Finland was at this time a Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire, with the Emperor of Russia as the Grand Duke of Finland. The actual government of the country had for several decades been carried on by a native Swedish-speaking aristocracy and a Russian Governor-General. All the offices were of course appointive, and an easy-going and conservative but rather honest bureaucracy had gradually come into existence and continued to operate the governmental machinery.

The population of the country counted at the middle of the century about 1,630,000 souls. Of this number, by far the greater part was living in the southern and western parts of the country. Towards the east and north the population was sparse and the towns few and far between.

More than eighty-five per cent of the population consisted of Finns who speak a Finno-Ugrian language which is closely related to Estonian and more remotely to Magyar or Hungarian.² Contrary to popular notions, Finnish is not at all related to the Scandinavian languages, except so far as words have been borrowed from the Germanic languages, especially Swedish. The Finns were largely a peasant population with only a small percentage of city dwellers. The rest of the population was Swedish, except for a small number of Germans and Russians, chiefly in Viborg and Helsingfors, and a couple of thousand Lapps in the far north. The total Swedish population was in 1845 about 209,000 persons, out of which about 33,000 lived in cities.³ The Swedish burghers tended to dominate socially and economically even in the cities where the

¹Ibid., pp. 15-17, 20-23.

²For the relationship of Finnish to other languages see Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed., Vol. IX, Articles "Finno-Ugrian" and "Finno-Ugrian Languages."

³Svenskt i Finland (Helsingfors: Söderström, 1914), pp. 47-48.

Finns were in the majority. The great majority of the Swedes consisted of peasants, sailors, and fishermen along the coast and on the islands in the south and west.

Most of the cities of any importance were located on the coasts. On the Gulf of Bothnia were Uleåborg (Oulu),¹ Vasa (Vaasa), and Björneborg (Pori), with a population respectively of about 5,700, 3,600, and 6,200. On the Gulf of Finland were the three largest cities. Åbo (Turku), in the south-west, had been the capital of the country up to 1818 and the seat of the university, Åbo Akademi, up to 1827, and was still the cathedral town with the archbishop of the Lutheran state church in residence. In 1850 the city had a population of about 17,200. Viborg (Viipuri), in the south-east, an old fortress town and commercial mart on the doorway of St. Petersburg, counted about 8,600 inhabitants. Helsingfors (Helsinki), located halfway between Åbo and Viborg, could not boast more than 20,700 inhabitants in spite of being both the political capital of the country and the new seat of the Imperial Alexander University, as Åbo Akademi was rechristened on its removal to Helsingfors in 1828.²

Class differences were perhaps not so great as in some other European countries, but still the classes and the masses--the gentry and the peasantry--lived in two different worlds. Class circulation was slow, and it was by no means easy to rise from the peasantry to the higher classes. Education was the door for some, but in the case of the Finns that required the exchange of their own relatively undeveloped language for Swedish in which education and culture was clothed. The country gentry, the city bourgeoisie, the officials, and the intellectuals were therefore mostly Swedish in language and traditions, while their servants were likely to speak the Finnish tongue.

Swedish was also the language of government and administration, of the courts of justice, and of all higher education. This superior status of the Swedish language was an inheritance from the long period of more than six centuries that Finland was part of the Swedish kingdom. Western civilization came into Finland in a Swedish garb, and that language remained the official

¹The Finnish names of the cities are given in parentheses in this paragraph.

²For figures in this paragraph see Statistisk Årsbok för Finland, 1930 (Helsingfors, 1930), p. 11.

language of the country even after Finland was separated from Sweden and united with the Russian Empire in 1808. Shortly before the middle of the century, however, the Fennoman movement which had previously been primarily concerned with the language itself and with Finnish folk-lore and literature, had been turned into new channels with an insistent demand that the status of the two languages be reversed as speedily as possible--for the good of the nation as a whole. But as yet few practical measures had been taken in that direction.

Among the Finns there was little literature outside of what the Church had promoted for religious purposes. Only recently the old Finnish runes had been collected and published, but even those were strange goods to the Finnish peasant. In the forties some Finnish newspapers had been started, but in 1850 the Russian censor decreed that only religious and economic literature could be published in Finnish. For some time thereafter popular literature in Finnish consisted of only a few small weekly or monthly publications.

Less than half a score of newspapers of any importance were published in Swedish.¹ A few of them were really literary magazines of a high caliber in which the literary contributions of the younger poets and writers of that period figured prominently. Others could, of course, claim less talent and originality in their staffs and generally served up conventional mixtures of local gossip, political news of a kind, and literary attempts. On the whole, however, one does not miss the mark much in saying that the Swedish newspapers in Finland at that time were the work of intellectuals for the benefit of the educated and the upper classes in general. The language they used was rather formal, to a considerable extent mixed with foreign words, and quite unintelligible to most of the uneducated Swedish peasants. The latter therefore seldom subscribed to a paper and were hardly any better off than the Finnish peasantry with respect to reading matter and literature.

The students at the university were mostly the sons of

¹August Schauman, Sex Årtionden i Finland (Helsingfors: Schildt, 1922), II, 47-49. According to this source, four papers were published in Helsingfors: Allmänna Tidningen, Helsingfors Tidningar, Morgonbladet, and Litteraturbladet; two papers were also published in Åbo, and four in other cities.

the gentry, the officials, the professional men and the city merchants. To supply the country with clergymen and government officials had from the beginning been the important functions of the university and still continued to be so. When the sons of well-to-do peasants found their way through the secondary schools to the university, as seems to have happened not so infrequently, they mostly entered the ministry. This seems to have been the case especially with students who came from the homes of Finnish peasants. The language of all the secondary schools and the university in 1850 was still Swedish. Most of the university students of that period had also grown up in Swedish-language homes and had Swedish names.¹

The intellectual life of the country had always centered around the university. Already during the latter part of the eighteenth century Åbo Akademi had a staff of teachers that could compare favorably with the best in the Scandinavian countries.² At this time also arose the interest among the academicians in Finnish linguistics, folklore, and history--interests which were pursued with so much energy and brought such remarkable results during the first half of the nineteenth century. New ideas were also seeping in from the intellectual and political centers of Europe and acting as a leaven at the university.³ It was generally the older students and the younger instructors that seem to have been most active in literary pursuits and in the exploration of new ideas. In the literary endeavors one had only be shrewd enough to keep clear of the Russian censor which after the revolutions of 1848 in so many countries of Europe was increasingly suspicious of subversive political propaganda.

It was in these intellectual circles at the university

¹Ibid., p. 54. Of 429 university students in 1846 only four had Finnish names.

²M. G. Schybergson, Finlands Historia (2d ed. revised; Helsingfors: G. W. Eklund, 1903), II, 275-84.

A. M. Scott relates that an English scholar Clarke, friend of Malthus, who visited Åbo in the year 1800, pronounced both professors and students at Åbo Akademi fit to be mentioned in the same breath with Oxford and Cambridge, while he berated the University of Upsala in Sweden as being below even the universities in Scotland! Suomi, the Land of the Finns (London: Butterworth, 1926), p. 150.

³For instance, Mill's Political Economy, published in 1852, was discussed considerably in the papers.

that the Fennoman movement in its original sense arose soon after the separation of Finland from Sweden. The next generation of intellectuals created a literary renaissance in both Swedish and Finnish, awakened a Finlandic patriotism, and re-made and intensified Fennomanism by emphasizing its political aspects and claiming for the Finnish language its "natural rights." It was also among the university students that the Swedish nationality movement had its inception.

This is in brief the background of nationalism in Finland: Swedish political domination and acculturation over a period of several centuries; geographical, administrative, and cultural differentiation from Sweden proper, and a growing sense of distinction, of Finland as the "homeland," especially after the political separation from Sweden and union with Russia; the development of interest in the antiquities of the country, in Finnish linguistics and folklore, especially by a group of scholars at Åbo Akademi; the existence of two language groups; and finally, the influence of the romantic movement in its nationalistic phase outside of Finland--first felt and expressed in Finland by the so-called "Åbo Romanticists."¹

¹This paragraph is an abstract of Chapter II of this dissertation.

CHAPTERS III AND IV

The development of Finnish folk-poetry and the rise of Finnish nationalism

Finnish Nationalism

The Finnish Literature Society and Lönnrot.—The immediate purpose of the organization of this society seems, however, to have been the rendering of aid to one of its distinguished members, Elias Lönnrot, in the collection and publishing of Finnish folk-songs. He is young, student at Uppsala, Lönnrot had found himself in the company of the men who carried on the Finnish traditions in Finnish legislation and folk-life. The eccentric Grotius had recently even ventured the prophecy that "if the ancient popular songs were collected and arranged as a whole, there might emerge an epic, a drama, or something, out of which a new Homer, Ovid or Virgil might arise."¹

Under the inspiration of this idea, and being already familiar with the treasures of Finnish songs collected by Grotius, Toivola, Br., and others, this remarkable young doctor personally undertook, supported by stipends from the society, to collect in the eastern parts of Finland and the border districts of Russia all the extant Finnish folk-poetry. Finally, with all the materials of song and story at hand, Lönnrot himself assumed the role of an ancient run-singer and there emerged the great Finnish folk-epic, the Kalevala.²

The Kalevala.—With the publication of the Kalevala and

¹This chapter consists of sections from Chapters III and IV of the complete dissertation deposited in the University of Uppsala library.

²A. Fjeldt, Finland and the Finns (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Co., 1911), p. 11.

³Elias Lönnrot was born of Finnish parents in the Finnish parish Sammetti in 1802. In school he learned Swedish. It is of interest to note Lönnrot's position on the language question which became acute during the latter part of his life. Speaking to the students of Uppsala in 1842, he stated that he could see no justification for the accusation levelled against them that they lacked patriotism because they were the most Swedish in their views. Each man must be on his own feet. Uppsala, der svenska nationaliteten i Finland (Helsingfors: Helsingfors, 1842), pp. 11-12.

Lönnrot's later collection of ancient Finnish songs and ballads, the Kanteletar, between 1835 and 1844, the literary revival suggested by the activities of the Fennophiles, initiated by Porthan, and actively promoted by his many disciples, may be said to have reached its climax. Among the educated, though most of them probably could not read the original, the sentimental effects were immediate; it took decades before the Finnish masses were really affected.¹

The Kalevala has been of the greatest importance in several ways to Finnish nationalism. First, it greatly increased the vocabulary and flexibility of the written language and thus became the basis for the modern literary Finnish; second, it became the inspiration and the source of themes, ideas, and conceptions of subsequent developments in literature and all the fine arts;² third, to the Finns themselves, in their strivings for status, it became a symbol of their own worth with a resulting expansion of personality. The Kalevala became, to use Antell's poetic expression, "the Finnic fountain-head from which Finnish nationalism is (constantly) drinking new life."³

Snellman and the Young Finns.--A new accentuation and direction was given to the Finnish literary movement during the forties and fifties. The instrument was the young philosopher Snellman, a prominent member of the Saturday Club.⁴ Having deep-

¹A contemporary thus reports the publication of the Kalevala: "The appearance of this national epic created amazement. The name Lönnrot, I remember, was already then mentioned with admiration. Not that the Kalevala was read widely; its language was too difficult to understand even for those who believed they knew Finnish. Through translations and reviews some conceptions were gradually gained of its contents. Everybody felt proud over the possession of such a national treasure, and the Finnish language gradually came to be regarded in a different way." Schauman, Sex Årtionden, I, 18-19.

²As examples one might mention some of the musical composition of Sibelius and the paintings of Gallén-Kallela.

³Kurt Antell, Finlandssvenskarnas Ställning (Helsingfors: Söderström, 1927), p.20.

⁴Johan Vilhelm Snellman was born in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1806. His ancestry was partly Finnish but predominantly Finland-Swedish, and he grew up in Finland. Like several other members of the Saturday Club he attended the university both in Åbo and Helsingfors. He became "docent" in philosophy in 1835 but lost the position three years later because of his radicalism. The next four years he spent in Sweden and Germany. In Sweden he was pleasantly associated with the romantic writers, wrote consider-

ened his insight into Hegelian philosophy by studies in Germany and having spent some time also among the literary lights in Sweden, but being refused a position at the university in his own country, Snellman put on his heavy armor to do battle royal for a change in Finland. During the years 1844-46 he published in Swedish the newspaper Saima, in which he addressed his views to the upper classes. Pointing out the gulf that existed between the upper Swedish-speaking class and the Finnish masses and the consequent dangers to the nation, he advocated the elevation of the Finnish language and its introduction into the courts and the administration and into the schools. This would promote national unity and a national culture. For the language was the natural means of expression of the spiritual unity of the nation. The existence of two languages in a nation was even contrary to the very conception and nature of the nation and thus in itself an absurdity. Finnish, which was in this case national, must take the place of Swedish, which was foreign.¹

Though radical in theory, Snellman himself was rather moderate about practical measures. A new culture could not, after

able on education and philosophy--and worried about Finland. After his return to Finland, he even declined a professorship at Upsala, and spent the next fourteen years in Finland as a teacher in secondary schools and editor, in poverty and bitterness, almost persecuted by the authorities. In 1856 he finally got a professorship at the university. In 1863 he became a member of the Senate and he remained there for the next five years. As teacher, writer, and personality he remained till his death in 1881, as his more radical disciple Koskinen said, "a party all by himself and the strongest ally of the Finnish cause."

Snellman's biographer, Th. Rein, is of the opinion that Snellman's interest in the Finnish language did not rest upon any personal preference for the language or upon any sentiments connected with it but upon an intellectual conviction that the elevation of that language was a necessary condition for the welfare and preservation of the nation. Th. Rein, J. V. Snellman, Samlade arbeten, Lefnadsteckning (Helsingfors, 1895), I, 110.

This opinion might be supported by the fact that Snellman wrote mostly in Swedish, moved in Swedish circles, spent his summers in a Swedish locality, kept his homelife Swedish, and engaged Swedish servants. Jakobstads Tidning, November 2, 1933.

¹Snellman's theory of the state (and also nation and society) was presented in the volume Läran om Staten (Theory of the State) published in 1842. His later criticisms of the conditions in Finland are a logical outgrowth of this theory. These criticisms and his advocacy of revolutionary changes in the relative status of the two languages appeared in the various issues of Saima during the years 1844-1845, and in Helsingfors Tidningar, May 1, 4, 1844; see also Rein, J. V. Snellman, I, 236-38, 397-401, 417-69.

all, be created at once. Therefore he wanted to make the transition from Swedish to Finnish a gradual one--apparently as painless as possible, with bilingual schools and a bilingual educated class as a transitional stage. This, however, was not the case with some of his disciples. Their program had one point: the actual Finnization with all possible speed of the educated classes and of private and public life. To distinguish them from the older Fennomans who were more moderate and chiefly interested in Finnish linguistics and literature, they were called the Young Fennomens.¹

The leader of the Young Fennomen was G. Z. Forsman, later senator, and ennobled under the name Yrjö-Koskinen.² As early as 1854, in his inauguration lecture at Vasa Gymnasium, he expressed his formulation of the Fennoman program.

The aim of the forces which are operating under the flag of Fennomanism is to bring the national language of Finland to such a state that it can, in its own country, take the place that every national language has the right to take--

¹M. G. Schybergson, Finlands Politiska Historia, 1809-1919 (Helsingfors: Söderström, 1923), p. 170.

²Yrjö Koskinen (Georg Forsman) was born in 1830. On his mother's side he hailed from a recently immigrated German family by name of Ebeling; on his father's side (Forsman) from an old line of clergymen, largely Swedish but with some Finnish admixtures. The home language was Swedish. Coming early under the influence of the romantic Fennomanism of the period, he wedded his personal ambitions to the cause of the "Finnish mother-tongue." As editor and author, teacher and professor, historian, senator, and leader of the Finnish Party from its inception in 1863 to his death in 1903, he was the dominant personal influence in the Finnish movement.

Mörne says: "Everybody was talking warmly about the Finnish 'mother-tongue,' but nobody would use it as the language of his home. Nobody who was preparing for a future service in the arts and sciences, definitely took the step to write in Finnish exclusively. It cost Koskinen many years of toil--in a weak moment he called it a descent into hell--before he mastered the difficult and undeveloped language. He wrote his first book, a history of Tavastkyro parish, in Finnish. He disputed for his doctor's degree in Finnish. When he in Jakobstad gave lessons in Finnish and found the readers impossible, he wrote new ones. The Finnish educated class which Snellman had written about so convincingly, was the creation of the young Yrjö Koskinen to a greater extent than of any other single person. He made the Finnish tongue his own and his family's medium of common intercourse, and, due to the prominence he gained through his superior talents, this action had a wide influence as an example for others." Arvid Mörne in a review of Gunnar Suolahti's biography covering the early life of Koskinen, Svenska Pressen, December 30, 1933.

the place as the official language of education and social intercourse which place is at present held by several foreign (främmande) languages.¹

The rapid Finnization of education and the civil administration thus became the objective. A new educated class that was Finnish in language and point of view had to be created. To get this "new generation," as Snellman had once expressed it, that would be national (Finnish) in language and mind, the schools must be Finnish. The Fennoman slogan soon actually became, One language, one mind (Yksi kieli, yksi mieli).

Finlandic Nationalism

The other pole of national sentiment in Finland during the period under discussion may best be called Finlandic.² Port-han's homeland sentiment was not Finnish in Snellman's sense, and when the Swedish-speaking educated classes and aristocracy in Finland spoke of themselves as Finns both before and after the separation from Sweden, it is clear that they meant Finlanders--as the words are now used.

During the twenties and thirties of the last century, the educated and the middle classes gradually came to look upon Finland as the Fatherland, as one gathers from Schauman. They began to feel that there was, as they then expressed it, a Finnish nation. A return to Sweden was no longer thought possible or even desired, though the relation to Russia was uncertain and gave cause to much fear.³

Runeberg and Patriotism.--The person more than anyone else responsible for the rise of a national spirit and patriotism in their widest sense in Finland, was the poet Runeberg⁴--the most

¹Lille, Svenska National, p. 165.

²The terms "Finlander," "Finlandic," and "of Finland," in this dissertation, will be used as pertaining to the population, the government, or the country as a whole. The terms "Swede" and "Swedish," and "Finns" and "Finnish" will be used in their proper sense as designations of the two nationalities. This distinguishing usage has been commonly observed by Russian and French writers and by some Germans. In Schybergson's Politische Geschichte Finlands this terminology is used, and E. N. Setälä, Professor of Finnish at the University of Helsingfors, employs the terms "finlandais," "finnois," and "suedois" in their different grammatical forms, in his brochure La Lutte des Langues en Finlande--and this in spite of the fact that he otherwise attempts to combat the idea of two nationalities in the country.

³Schauman, Sex Årtionden, I, 15-16.

⁴Johan Ludvig Runeberg was born in Jakobstad in 1804. The

prominent member of the Saturday Club. Though only a generation removed from Sweden, he was early attracted to the Finnish revival, and through the intense patriotism of his poetry became, as Reade has fittingly said, "the greatest dynamic force produced by modern Finland."¹ Runeberg, however, never wrote anything in Finnish, and his interests were Finlandic rather than Finnish in the Young Fennoman sense.

Runeberg first gained recognition among the intellectuals through an extended poem entitled "The Elk Hunters," published in 1842. It gave an idealized but very appealing picture of Finnish peasant life--in Greek hexameter. Of much greater importance, however, for the development of a Finlandic patriotism was the collection of poems entitled "Fänrik Ståls Sägner" (Tales of Ensign Stål), of which the first cycle was published in 1848 and the second in 1860. These poems portray the heroes of the war of 1808-1809, ranging in subjects from the general down to the simplest of soldiers. Each is a rare pen-picture or story of great simplicity with idealism and realism happily combined. They breathe an intense love for Finland--the common Fatherland, irrespective of which language the character speaks. The appeal of characters and sentiments is well-nigh irresistible. Reade's estimate is not an exaggeration:

family was entirely of Swedish origin. His father, a sea captain, was born in Sweden but later settled in Finland. Runeberg matriculated at Åbo Akademi only a year after Arwidson's removal. Before finishing his studies he spent two years as a tutor of the children of some gentlefolk in the depths of Tavastland. Here he learned some Finnish, and here he, "a son of colonizing Swedes," also received his deep impressions of the inland landscape and of the "patriarchal simplicity" and patience of the Finnish inhabitants. These impressions became, as formulated in his poetry, the stereotypes in terms of which his own and succeeding generations came to conceive of the country and of the Finnish people. Here Runeberg also met an old sergeant who became the prototype for his Ensign Stål.

¹Reade, Finland, p. 46.

In Helsingfors he was during the thirties one of the foremost moving spirits in the national awakening that then began. Unable also to secure a position at the university, he accepted in 1837 a position in the gymnasium at Borgå. There most of his work as the national poet was done and there he died in 1877. He was opposed to the aggressive Fennomanism of Snellman and Koskinen, but his person and work have become the objects of a cult in the country as a whole. See Yrjö Hirn, Runebergskulten (Helsingfors: Schildt, 1935).

The poems have left an indelible imprint on the people of Finland, who feel that one side of their nature has received in them a definite and final expression. Even a foreigner can hardly read them without being moved to tears by their naive simplicity, by the sheer beauty they shed on noble human striving and suffering, by the faith and reverence with which the poet handles the great issues of life and death as if he were at home with them, by the fiery, self-sacrificing patriotism through which human clay is transfigured into something greater than itself, by the sublime heroism of simple and stupid men, by the laughter amid tears, by the long suspense of inaction and wasted marches, by the fierce joy of battle and slaying, by the calm and nobly encountered death and by the proud sorrow of mothers who have given their sons for a great cause.¹

The Liberals.--In an article appearing in Helsingin Uutiset (Helsingfors News) in 1863, G. Z. Forsman (Koskinen), the Young-Fennoman leader, spoke of the political groupings then visible. On the one hand, there were the Fennomen (Young Fennomen) who were especially concerned with the development of a Finnish nationality. From their point of view, the most important question of the day was the language question--to gain for the Finnish language its "Natural Rights." On the other hand, there were the "Bloodless," the Liberals who deprecated the pre-occupation with language and wished to concentrate all efforts on the development of a constitutional government.²

These Liberals probably constituted the majority of the Swedish intellectuals through the fifties, sixties, and seventies. Most of them had become imbued with the romantic Fennomanism that developed during the thirties and forties, and they had hailed with equal enthusiasm the Kalevala and Runeberg's early poetry. The Finnish and the national were vaguely identical. They spoke of "our Finnish mother-tongue," though most of them knew little of it. In these respects they were all Fennomen.³

But Snellman's vocal radicalism and the implications of the Young Fennoman program provoked a clearer definition of attitudes in those who could not follow that road. Gradually, then, there emerges a liberal definition of the political situation, as opposed to the Fennoman definition. This definition expresses a Finlandic nationalism, as the terms are now used, rather than a Finnish.

¹Ibid., pp. 41-42.

²Lille, Svenska National, pp. 155-56.

³Ibid., pp. 136-38.

The Liberals held that there was and could be only one nation and nationality in Finland. This nationality they also called Finnish. But this common Finnish nationality was based, not on language, but on a common country and common historical traditions and memories. To emphasize language meant to introduce hatred and contention when harmony and concerted action was needed.

The Beginnings of the Swedish Nationality Movement

Freudenthal's Awakening.--Out of this conflict of attitudes and philosophies was also born the idea of a separate Swedish nationality in the country. The discussion among the students, referred to in the introduction, concerning this nationality seems to have been the first flash in the pan. Of greater importance was a brochure entitled The Young Finland (Det unga Finland) published by August Sohlman in 1855. After analyzing the purposes of the Finnish movement, Sohlman pointed out that there was a Swedish nationality in Finland, as well as a Finnish, and called attention to the impropriety of using the ethnic term Finn instead of the more proper term Finlander to designate the common political nationality (citizenship).¹

The idea was again propounded with vigor in a gathering of the students of the province of Nyland in 1858, and from this occasion a more or less sustained movement may be traced. One of these students--his name was Axel Olof Freudenthal--felt constrained to maintain that there existed also a Swedish nationality in the country and to contend that it was the duty of the Swedish students of Nyland to work for the preservation and elevation of this nationality, instead of devising means for its destruction. Freudenthal himself has left an account of the event and its meaning to him as a personal experience.

It was during the spring semester of 1868, when a member of the student-union, the son of an immigrant from Sweden, proposed as a topic for discussion: What should we do in order to Finnify the Swedish population in Finland?

¹Lille, Svenska National, pp. 48-50. Snellman undertook to answer Sohlman in Litteraturbladet the following year by maintaining that it was only patriotism that had driven the Swedish-speaking intellectuals to work for the elevation of the Finnish language, even though it must ultimately mean the sacrifice of Swedish. Sohlman's brochure was re-issued in 1880 and circulated anew, just before the Swedish political party was beginning to take form.

Scales began to fall from my eyes when I reflected: Who are we? Are not we also a part of this Swedish population? By what right should we further the work of Finnization? Is it not, on the contrary, our unconditioned duty not only actively to oppose this, but also to honor our mother-tongue as surely as we honor the memory of our mother? The answer could not be more than one. This became clear as daylight and took hold of me as an absolute certainty: I and many of us are not Finns but pure Swedes, a part of "the Swedish population in Finland." And I wrote a youthfully enthusiastic article, which I read in a voice vibrant with emotion before the student-union. I fought orally for my conviction, alone, surrounded by a circle of friends who regarded my views as hardly better than treason to the Fatherland. At last, when the meeting was over, I followed a group way across the city to their gate, seeking to convince or be convinced. In vain! Alone I went home and felt as the poet must have conceived the state of mind of him who asks: Without friends and country, what is human life? Tears come to my eyes even now, when I recollect the mental torture I suffered during the night that followed. But the truth was clear and unchangeable and I could not be false in the rendering of my duty to my mother's memory. And it was here, in my beloved country, that this duty must be rendered. Not to emigrate; that would be the way of a coward, and at twenty-one one has the courage to fight, for one has hope of victory.

According to ability I took up and continued the fight, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing an increasing number of close and eager friends, who held the same views, gather around me. We organized a so-called "Scandinavian Society," and after a few years the whole student-union of Nyland was on our side, Swedish in mind as well as Swedish born. Out of this training school many good fighters for the Swedish cause in Finland have since come, a great Swedish political party has risen, and if the Swedish nationality in Finland should go under in the struggle against its allied enemies, it shall not at least have taken place without a forceful self-defence. For it was conscious of itself and obeyed the commandment: Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother.¹

Freudenthal's awakening or conversion, as it may well be called, was probably typical for the inner experience of many a Swede in Finland during that and the next generation. The details would of course vary with the circumstances, but the meaning and the results would be fundamentally the same.

Freudenthal was born and raised in Finland, but his parents had immigrated from Sweden and the home atmosphere was thoroughly Swedish. As a boy and youth he came to regard Sweden as his Fatherland, the land of his "fathers," but Finland as his "Fosterland," the land that had fostered him. His attachment to his native province Nyland had during his college and early uni-

¹Arvid Mörne, Axel Olof Freudenthal och den Finlands-svenska Nationalitetstanken (Helsingfors, 1927), pp. 55-57.

versity years in Helsingfors and under the influence of Runeberg's patriotic poetry developed into a sense of his belonging to Finland, his "beloved country." This sentiment was Finlandic but not Finnish. The romantic Fennomanism of that period among the Swedish educated classes may have appealed to him, but he never developed the Finnish-national pathos which was then also so common in these classes.¹ The topic proposed for discussion in the Nyland student-union made the dormant attitudes kinetic, defined them and set them in sharper relief. It assumed the superiority of Fennomanism and imputed a lesser value or inferiority to the Swedish population in Finland. Thereby the stage was set for a conflict in Freudenthal's inner life, a conflict which was both emotional and intellectual. The choice that he felt himself called upon to make touched some of the things dearest to him and produced a crisis. To surrender and become a Finn, or to be a Swede and remain true to the memory of his mother--that was the choice.²

¹Ibid., pp. 58-59.

²Axel Olof Freudenthal was born in the Swedish parish Sjundea in Finland 1836. His paternal grandfather was a German from Riga; otherwise his ancestry was Swedish. His parents migrated to Finland where numerous relatives, especially on his mother's side, had already settled and inter-married with Finlandic families. These conditions no doubt influenced his conception of the Swedish nationality problem in Finland: that the Swedes in Finland were part of a common Swedish nationality.

Freudenthal entered the university in 1854, and was after 1858 primarily responsible for the development of the Swedish nationality idea among the Nyland students, as opposed to Fennoman and Liberal conceptions of nationality in the country. After receiving his degree in 1859 he was for a number of years "kurator" of the Nyland student organization and was during the sixties and seventies the dominant influence in their activities and thinking with reference to nationality. He was appointed "docent" in Old Nordic at the university in 1866, and finally the first professor of the Swedish language and literature at the university in 1878. From then on his efforts were spent mostly in his professional field--Swedish antiquities and linguistics, especially as they related to Finland. He was not a politician and did not actively participate in the language fight of the Swedish party during the eighties and nineties. Already in the middle of the eighties he had grown pessimistic about the future of the Swedish nationality in the country, continued, to be sure, to participate in the activities of the Swedish cultural organizations, but tended to withdraw more and more from public life to his professional and scientific work and his avocation--agriculture. He resigned from his professorship at the university in 1904 and died in 1911--only a few years after the nationality movement he sponsored in his youth really got under way.

His nationality theory.--In the paper which he read at the student meeting to which reference was made at the opening of this chapter, Freudenthal made the point that the Finnization of the Swedish population in Finland should be desired least of all by the students of Nyland "being ourselves Swedes both in language, birth, and birthplace (a Swedish colony)." It was, on the contrary, their duty

. . . . to work against such assimilation by raising the cultural level of this population and by making it conscious of the fact, that, though politically united with the Finns, it was nevertheless in nationality a branch of the Scandinavians, between whom and the Finns it is to make a connecting link in the future, when Finland as a fourth state will join Scandinavia--the only conceivable independent position of Finland.¹

In three articles entitled "A Few Words on the Question of Nationality," which appeared in Nylands Dragon (the student paper) in 1859 and 1860, Freudenthal attempted to present his views more systematically. The purpose of the first one was to clear up the prevailing confusion and misuse of terms.

Cicero, the Roman best versed in his mother-tongue, says expressly that natio has the meaning of nation or tribe, provided it has the same language ; populus, on the other hand, means people, the totality of inhabitants in a city, a state, or a country, in the relation of government and subjects. Thus we have here a most definite distinction between nation (natio) which includes all the individuals speaking the same language, and people which includes those who live under the same laws and government.²

And he goes on to say that when the idea of nationality which was undermining most states of Europe some day will have blown away the whole rotten political structure inherited from the Middle Ages, then the meanings of nation and people will be synonymous, for then it will be possible to realize the principle which is now being so fervently proposed: one nation, one state. The second article contains an elaboration of the same subject.

If one may agree with Professor Snellman and assume that language is an expression of nationality and also the main criterion of the nationality of an individual or a people, then it follows that we, Swedish-speaking Finlanders, can by no means in a national sense be called Finns, but rather "Swedes from the former province Finland," who together with the Finns proper constitute the Finnish or better the Finlandic people.³

Rather scathingly he then criticizes the educated Swedes who desert their own nationality or try to subordinate it to the

¹Ibid., pp. 54-55.

²Ibid., p. 66.

³Ibid., p. 68.

Finnish. They should, however, work for the raising of the cultural level of the Finns if they have no opportunity to work for their own nationality. But that should not be done with the aim of driving the Swedish language out from its present position or to deprive the Swedish population of its nationality. Such a policy could almost be called suicidal in a national sense. In the third article he attempted to evaluate the political consequences of the assumed success of the Fennoman aims.

It is not probable that the introduction of Finnish into its so-called natural rights would have as a consequence the political independence of Finland. On the contrary, it would isolate our country from the rest of Scandinavia, in as much as language is the nearest bond of union between countries. The young Finnish nationality (provided this could come about) would in its isolated position be unable to defend itself against the Russian which is much superior in activity and vitality and possesses the political preponderance as well. It (Russia) would make a few mouthfuls of an ultra Finnish "nation."

Our watch-word must . . . now and ever be: Liberation from Russia! Let us not be deluded by a false show of independence; . . . the most treacherous words that the Finnish people have taken to heart are those of Alexander I, which a national vanity so often cites: the Finnish people is now elevated among the nations. That happened to Finland long before through its union with Sweden. Its union with Russia was the greatest damage that this elevation could ever suffer.¹

A brief summary of the more important parts of Freudenthal's re-definition of the problem of nationality and of national aspirations in Finland should contain the following points.

1. He accepted as valid one of Snellman's cardinal doctrines, namely that language is the most important expression and index of nationality.

2. Since there was a relatively large Swedish-speaking group of people in Finland, it then followed that there was a separate Swedish nationality, as well as a Finnish, in the country.

3. It was the duty of the Swedish intellectuals to make the Swedish nationality conscious of itself and to raise its cultural level so that it would be preserved and form a connecting link between the Finns and the other Scandinavians.

4. He differentiated, though using a somewhat different terminology, between the linguistic and cultural nationality, on the one hand, and the political state on the other.

5. He proposed the terms Finlandic and Finlander to designate political citizenship in Finland instead of the confusing ethnic terms Finnish and Finn.

6. The success of the Finnish movement and the elimination of Swedish would isolate Finland from Scandinavia and

¹ Ibid., p. 94.

make it an easy prey for assimilation by Russia.

7. The political aim must be the separation of Finland from Russia and its entry as a member into a federated Scandinavian union.

"The Scandinavians."--This term became an epithet for those students of the Nyland section who gradually gathered around Freudenthal and his nationality program. He was apparently the unquestioned leader who dominated by his wit, humor, and geniality. There was an inner circle of ten, all congenial fellows and eager advocates of the Swedish nationality idea.

But there was also in the Nyland student-union a larger number who had gradually and on the whole come to look at matters in the same way as Freudenthal. A reservation signed by thirty-four members against a decision made by the union in 1860 probably reveals the numerical strength of those who had turned Swedish in their views. "Here we have before us," says Mörne, "the Scandinavian party of the nation, the first Swedish party in Finland."¹ Most of these early Scandinavians did not hail from aristocratic or typical upper class families. They rather represented the small town bourgeoisie and even the peasantry of the Nyland countryside.

Therefore their strong interest in the country-side and its life! And therefrom their instinctive perception of strangeness as regards everything Finnish! Those youth came to the university city from homes where the cultured Fenno-manism of the upper classes was unknown. . . . During the years they spread in their home places the new nationality ideas which took root in spite of the opinions of the upper classes and not because of them.²

Freudenthal had early and repeatedly pointed out that the Finnization of the Swedes in Finland was to be prevented by raising the cultural level of the country-folk and the common people in general and by making them nationality conscious. This became the great practical task of the Swedish university students of the province of Nyland during the sixties, seventies, and eighties.

Chronologically, the first practical measure towards the carrying out of such a program was the starting of a Penny Library for the country population in 1866. Over forty pamphlets altogether were published over a period of years. The first one was written by Freudenthal on an historical subject and in a popular narrative style. These pamphlets show a definite nationalistic tendency. Towards the end of the series the subjects are more and

¹Ibid., pp. 97-98.

²Ibid., p.225.

more chosen from the field of Scandinavian antiquities: Ships and Travels of the Northmen, Old Norse Mythology, Home Life in the North in Pagan Times, Sagas of the Ancient North, and Iceland and its Importance for Nordic History. These subjects, says Mörne, were a protest against a History of Finland just published by Yrjö Koskinen, the Fennoman leader, and also introduced into the Swedish public schools.¹ This history presented only the antiquities of the Finns; there was nothing said about the ancient Scandinavians. The pamphlets were thus an attempt to counteract that bias, to make the Swedish country-folk conscious of an historic past in common with the other Scandinavians.

Popular lectures were also arranged by the students. This activity was for some time carried on only in Helsingborgs, but from the middle of the seventies the Nyland Student-union was backing the project financially with the result that it was extended to the smaller towns and villages.² Other projects which the Nyland students promoted for the same general purpose may simply be mentioned: libraries aboard ships, sail-boat races among the Swedish fisherman with the end in view of inducing them to improve their boats, and an unsuccessful attempt to induce some qualified person, by offering a prize, to write a brief History of Finland without the Finnish bias.³

As early as 1858 and 1859 one of the Nyland students, after having made himself perfectly familiar with the Swedish country and skerry population and their characteristics and conditions of life, published respectively Pictures from the Nyland Skerries and Nylandic Folk-characteristics. These publications opened up a new field of interest to the students, and several of the original "Scandinavians" spent their summer vacations on long hiking trips in order to become more familiar with the folk and nature of their native province. The idea of making a more systematic study of the geography, history, and ethnology of Nyland gradually matured. Committees were appointed to gather material especially in the field of folk-lore and the folk dialects. The result was a long

¹Ibid., pp. 137-38.

²Ibid., p. 138. During the school year 1875-1876 seventy-two such lectures were given by the students, and in the early eighties the figure runs up to nearly a hundred and fifty per year, and then slumps considerably for a time.

³Ibid., pp. 138-39.

series of "albums," devoted principally to the folk-lore of Swedish Nyland. Similar "albums" and "calendars" largely devoted to the folk-lore, history and other interests of the Swedish nationality in Finland were also published by other student organizations.¹ A society which had for its purpose a more scientific study of the Swedish dialects in Finland was also organized by Freudenthal.

The "Vikings" and Vikingen.--Towards the end of 1870 there appeared in Helsingfors the newspaper Vikingen (The Viking) and thus began a carrier that lasted to the end of 1874. The name had a double significance. It was sponsored by a group of intellectuals who already had been nick-named "The Vikings" because of their views on the matters of nationality. By the shift of the accent from the first to the second syllable of the Swedish definite form "vikingen" it also gets the imperative meaning "yield to nobody." The name was chosen with both meanings in mind.²

The Vikings of the seventies were the successors of the Scandinavians of the sixties in the Nyland student-union. They had been members of the expanding Freudenthalian larger circle. Thus they became the heirs and possessors of the ideas he had first broached some twelve years earlier, and they did now undertake to popularize them in larger and socially more important classes. While the "Scandinavians," as mentioned above, had been rather closely associated with the lower bourgeoisie and common people of the Nyland towns and country-side, the group that sponsored the paper Vikingen definitely represented the Swedish upper class families in Helsingfors. Their influence was consequently bound to be much greater in those quarters.³

The program and purpose of Vikingen, as announced in the first issue, makes special mention of the right of the Swedish nationality in Finland to exist and develop.

The Swedish culture should be preserved and developed because the Swedish population in our country has a sacred right to draw its nourishment and energy therefrom. Not the mathematical calculation that the population constitutes only such and such a fraction of the whole population but simply the rights of nationalities to live their own lives, if they have the (internal) strength to do so, should be the determining factor. The Swedish population should therefore strive to cultivate and develop its language, and its national culture

¹Ibid., pp. 139-40, 253-62.

²Ibid., p. 201.

³Ibid., pp. 225-26.

and characteristics. The efforts to do so are just as necessary, justified, and worthy of respect as the work for the enlightenment of the Finnish nationality in our country and the elevation of its language These interests--the Swedish, namely--have not been entirely forgotten in our press, especially by way of criticism, but full expression and untiring champions have they too seldom found.¹

Vikingen thus intended to further the interests of the Swedish nationality in Finland. The justification for doing so was simply that this nationality had a right to live its own life. Both the name of the paper and the program were challenging. How Vikingen and its program was greeted by the Finnish press is well illustrated by an article that appeared in the paper Kansan Lehti (The People's Paper).

Don Quixote, that very famous Spanish warrior, has come to life again and ascended from his grave of a thousand years. Appearing in the capital of Finland blindfolded, he strikes around him as in his former life. In his arms he carries a group of Sancho Pansas, and these beat their swords together with noise and crash; but--the swords are full of wind.

Now, what does this new Don Quixote want? This marvelous ghost wishes to transform the Finnish people into Swedish. It is well that Lappviken (the insane asylum) is so close at hand. The name of the ghost is Vikingen.²

During its relatively short existence Vikingen carried on numerous controversies with the Finnish and the Liberal papers and took up for discussion a great number of questions relating to the Swedish nationality in Finland.

¹Ibid., pp. 202-204.

²Lille, Svenska National, p. 203.

CHAPTERS V AND VI

THE LANGUAGE FIGHT AND THE SWEDISH CLASS PARTY

As the Fennoman phalanx became aggressive and the implications of their demands with reference to the future status of the Swedish language in the country became apparent, the Liberals were inevitably forced into an attitude of opposition. No matter how sympathetic they may have been toward the attempts to raise the Finnish language to a higher level and even to a status of equality with the Swedish language, they were put on the defensive when the demanded changes were of such a nature that they seemed to endanger the whole culture and almost totally eliminate Swedish, which for centuries had been the only cultural medium.

There is a typical line of development, a natural history, which a large part of the Swedish educated class seems to have passed through during the latter part of the century. We may accept as typical for this the case of C. G. Estlander, professor of aesthetics at the University of Helsingfors and editor of the magazine Finsk Tidskrift.

In the fifties he was dominated by the ideas of the romantic Fennomanism. In the seventies he could proclaim that "we can and should with the same love embrace the two forms of our culture," and he laid the plans for his magazine accordingly. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, he felt forced to declare that the name of the magazine was inappropriate and that it ought to be "Finlandic Tidskrift"; and further, that in his magazine he had not energetically enough defended the Swedish form of culture against the Fennoman attacks.¹

This change in attitudes is also reflected in a letter written by Mrs. Runeberg to her sister in 1874.

A comical thing nowadays is, that the newspapers are gradually making Runeberg into a Fennoman. They do not comprehend that at that time everyone was a Finn, irrespective of whether his tongue was Swedish or Finnish. One loved the Finnish language as well as the Swedish; the one as the other was the mother-tongue, and everyone therefore desired the elevation of the Finnish mother-tongue so that the Finnish-speaking part of the population might also participate in the blessings of the general culture. But since the Fennomen have succeeded in dividing our country into two camps, and declared us, the Swedish-speaking part, to be not Finns but colonists, who ought to be thrown out with almost everything they have

¹Lille, Svenska National, pp. 364-65.

brought, and when it is a question of being a Fennoman or remaining true to one's mother-tongue, the traditions of one's fathers, and to love one's country and people, irrespective of the language in which they express themselves--now, that is quite different. And they have at last also really succeeded in lessening that love which everyone formerly had for the Finnish language and everything connected with it by creating a breach between our formerly united nationalities.¹

The Swedish Class Party

The original "Scandinavians" and "Vikings" formed the nucleus of the Swedish Party. Through the paper Vikingen their idea of a separate Swedish nationality in the country had been made known to a larger educated Swedish public. In 1882, the paper Nya Pressen was founded by some of the former "Vikings" with Axel Lille as the editor-in-chief.² Around this paper the Swedish Party gradually integrated, and it served as the organ and guiding star of the party for nearly two decades.

It was not a popular party that thus came into existence. It was, to use Estlander's phraseology, the cultured Swedish families and classes that rallied to defend the historical position of the Swedish language and the Swedish cultural heritage.³ Most of the former Liberals therefore identified themselves with the Swedish Party during the later eighties.⁴ Likewise, most of the upper city bourgeoisie, the gentry, and the official class scattered as a thin layer over the country gradually found refuge within the Swedish Party. They felt that not only their positions, their culture, their status, their language, but also the very civilization of the country--all was threatened by the Finnish movement which seemed to be sweeping onward like an avalanche.

¹Ibid., p. 85.

²Axel Johan Lille was born in Helsingfors in 1848. The family was of Swedish origin. While a student at the university, he came under the influence of Freudenthal's nationality ideas and edited "Vikingen" during the last year of its publication. As editor of Nya Pressen from its founding in 1882 to its suspension by the Russian Governor-General in 1900, Lille was one of the most influential men in the country, not only in the Swedish Party but also in the general political development. After his return from exile in 1905, he was one of the chief influences in the founding of the Swedish Folk-Party in 1906, and served as party chairman till 1917, only four years prior to his death. Max Hanemann, Axel Lille, en Levnadsteckning (Helsingfors, 1931).

³Estlander, Elva Årtionden, II, 105.

⁴Ibid., p. 106.

Freudenthal's idea of a Swedish nationality, which was the original ideological foundation of the party, became almost lost. Lost in the background was also the real Swedish nationality, the Swedish common people of the skerries, coastlands, and the coastal cities. To the foreground on the other hand came the thin layer of the Swedish upper classes spread more or less over the whole country. It was especially they who felt threatened by the Finnish movement.

All agreed on this, that the welfare of the country demands the preservation of the Swedish nationality. But there were differences of opinion which may be expressed thus in regard to the method: Some desire, others agree, and still others do not agree to an immediate equality of the two languages.

Those who do not desire an immediate equality are dominant numerically but not in public influence. Without their mostly passive resistance the relations of the two languages in the country would already have been reversed. This group is represented mainly among the independent business men and the gentry, among the young people and among the educated women.

They fear with reason as a result of Fennomanism a social revolution that would be disastrous for the whole country.

Let us consider for a moment a Finnish Finland of the Young Fennoman brand: Finnish laws and their preparation in Finnish; the whole administration and its personnel Finnish--except some French at the top; the university Finnish and only "national" scientists; all higher schools, literature, the theater, and the press, Finnish, and no translations; polite society Finnish, and for Swedish no other public place than in town meetings and religious services in a few places, and all connections with Sweden severed. Could one even in his dimmest moments be blind to the suicide that an exclusively Finnish Finland at the present time would mean, or is it believed that the hanged could be cut down in time?¹

This was written in 1887. It no doubt reflects quite accurately the attitude of large circles of upper class Swedes towards the Finnish language and the Finnish movement whose positive aspects they were unable to understand and appreciate.²

¹Lille, Svenska National, pp. 621-23, quoting from a pamphlet by V. M. v. B(orn), Det Svenska Partiet, published in 1887.

²What the language fight meant as a personal experience--to an upper class Swede--is well portrayed in the following case. "My home was very Swedish. We spoke the Swedish language and read Swedish authors, played Swedish music, danced Swedish dances. When I say 'Swedish,' I do not necessarily mean that all this had been directly imported from Sweden; much of it had been written on Finnish soil by men and women born in Finland.

The Swedish Party was further strengthened by the intellectual definition and rationalization of the position and attitudes of the Swedish classes. This was perhaps done most skillfully by Professor C. G. Estlander. Especially worthy of note in this respect are an essay "Ubi patria ibi bene," appearing in 1880, and a long article entitled "My Position on the Language Question," published in Finsk Tidskrift in 1887. This article was a defence against previous Fennoman attacks as well as an elaboration of his own point of view. Though knowing Finnish and its existing literature from his childhood, and though favoring the development of the Finnish form of culture and the equality of the Finnish language with the Swedish in education and administration, he pointed out (as he saw them) the cultural dangers of the "one language-one mind" doctrine, emphasized the value of the Swedish cultural heritage for the country as a whole and the function of the Swedish language in its further development, and warned against the dangers of an apostasy from these cultural values.¹ The article met a storm of protests in the Finnish papers, but it defined the feelings and attitudes of the educated Swedish classes.

The point of view is typically kulturaristokratisk--to use a Swedish expression. And so was the whole Swedish movement at this time. It was a movement of the Swedish Class to defend the historical position of the Swedish language and the Swedish

"What I want to emphasize is that my upbringing was thoroughly Swedish. I came into contacts with Finns all the time. My playmates were sometimes Finns; the maids and the hired men were Finns. So I learned the Finnish language as well as the Swedish. But I never regarded it very highly. To me it was the language of the maids and the hired men--and of the peasants. It is hard to describe the curious attitude I had--and have--toward the Finns. I was very fond of some of them, and I was willing to use their language to a certain extent. Sometimes I even felt a passionate patriotism that included the Finns as well as the Swedes of my country. But all the time there was a feeling of superiority, that I belonged to a better race, and was different from them. As I grew older this feeling was emphasized because of the Finnish attitude toward us Swedes. It became absolute contempt. By the time I left Finland I had no use at all for either the Finns or their language, because of the behavior politically. I felt that they had betrayed the country--as no doubt some of them had done." (Last sentence probably refers to the "Suomitarians" during the period of Russianization.) Manuscript quoted in Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted (New York, 1921), p. 46.

¹Lille, Svenska National, pp. 633-48; Estlander, Elva Årtienden, II, 131-33, 135-36.

cultural heritage¹--and we may add--its own status and role in the country. There was no place in it for the Swedish common folk of town, countryside, and littoral. These were now only the dimly realized reserves best left undisturbed by the problems and conflicts of the time.²

The Struggle for Political Control

The language struggle in Finland went through a cycle of change during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. During the seventies, the issue was primarily that of the language of the secondary schools leading to the university. This issue became practically settled around 1880, largely in accordance with the principle that the effective demand in the form of pupils and students from each language group shall determine the state's support of Finnish and Swedish schools.³

In the eighties, the conflict in the Press as well as between the organized parties in the Lantdag shifted to the question of the languages in the administration. The Swedish Party now advocated the principle of equality of the two languages in the courts and the administration. The client's or applicant's language was to determine the language to be used by the officials and of the papers to be issued. The Finnish Party, on the other hand, advocated the territorial principle; that is, that the language of the majority of the population of parish, town, or administrative district should determine the language of the administration. No comprehensive bill or proposition to settle the ques-

¹Lille, Svenska National, pp. 632-33; Estlander, Elva Artionden, II, 105.

²Lille, Svenska National, p. 623.

³Koskinen and his friends had previously demanded that seven-eighths--the proportion of Finns in the total population of the country--of the secondary schools should be Finnish. The bureaucratic administration, however, proceeded slowly, apparently on the presumption that there was no demand for such schools. To prove that there was such a demand and with remarkable spontaneity numerous Finnish schools to which the sons and daughters of the peasants flocked, were started privately around 1880--all under a great wave of enthusiasm. The state soon took over most of them. Estlander, Elva Artionden, II, 17, 36.

Some of the Swedish state schools in the predominantly Finnish cities were also closed or changed into Finnish. Private Swedish schools were then founded to take their place. Some of these were later discontinued, but some of them have continued, with state aid. Ibid., pp. 37-38.

tion was ever submitted to or passed by the Lantdag.¹ It was solved in a different way. With the Finnish Party in the ascendancy in the Senate and a Russian Governor-General who favored the cause of the Finnish masses as against that of the Swedish classes, the principle that the Finnish Party was fighting for gained the day. Through Imperial decrees of 1883 and 1886 and consequent interpretations by the Senate, the territorial or majority principle was put into operation.² The Finnish movement was at this time breaking through all along the line: in the schools, in the administration, at the university, in the theatre, in the Press, in literature--and rapidly changed the whole complexion of the country.³ The Swedish Party which everywhere was on the defensive was forced to retreat from position to position, but did so "with the same high airs."⁴

In the nineties the struggle between the two parties centered upon the control of the Estates. The Swedish Party still dominated two of the four Estates, namely, that of the Nobility and that of the Burghers. The seats in the Estate of the Nobility were hereditary, but the representatives in the Estate of the Burghers were elected by a system of graduated plural voting, the number of votes held by a person dependent upon the amount he paid in taxes. The Finnish parties now demanded a scaling down of the number of votes that could be cast by one person.

The Old Finns (the former Young Finns) favored a moderate scaling down--just enough to give them control of the Estate of the Burghers. The new Young Finns who had begun to differentiate as a Finnish left wing with a social reform program in the middle of the eighties, had now advanced to the idea of one person, one vote. And behind them was the Finnish proletariat about to emerge in the Socialist movement.⁵ But the Swedish Party tenaciously

¹Two attempts were made to have such bills drawn up and submitted, the first in 1885 and the second in 1897. The first attempt failed because of the disinclination of the Emperor to have such a bill submitted, the second because the two parties could no longer find any common basis for such a bill. Estlander, Elva Årtionden, pp. 103-104; Lille, Svenska National, pp. 760-863.

²Estlander, Elva Årtionden, II, 100, 110-111.

³Ibid., pp. 113-14.

⁴Ibid., p. 105.

⁵Estlander, Elva Årtionden, II, 263; Lille, Svenska National, pp. 732-33.

opposed such a reform. Its members felt that to retain their influence in the Lantdag and serve "the welfare of the country"--as they saw it--they must retain control of the Estate of the Burghers.¹

Effects of Russianization for the Democratic Revolution

For the Swedish cause in Finland the first period of Russianization and the consequent Democratic Revolution marked the end of one era and the beginning of another. The old Swedish Party had gone to pieces during the constitutional campaign against the forces of Russianization. The former hold on the administration had been largely lost with the increased Finnish officialdom, and the new constitution had cut away completely the foundations of the old class party and its partial control of legislation. Most of the old "cultural positions" had been lost, the Finnish movement was sweeping forward along all lines, and the preponderance of the Finns in conjunction with powerful economic forces seemed to threaten the very existence not only of the Swedes in the cities but even of the Swedish peasantry. The Swedish cause indeed seemed lost, and many Finns also regarded it that way.

The Swedish leaders, then, had to find a new basis on which to rebuild the Swedish cause. There were the "reserves," the formerly indifferent and inarticulate Swedish masses which had responded so splendidly in the resistance against Russianization. Freudenthal's idea of a separate Swedish nationality in Finland, including all who had Swedish as their mother tongue, was revived in earnest. The masses must be awakened and made nationality conscious, and the whole Swedish population organized so as to be able to defend its "natural rights" and its very existence against the Finnish majority.

The Appeal to the Swedish Masses

The appeal to the Swedish masses was made in numerous ways. In May 1906, the Swedish People's Party was organized to include, if possible, the whole Swedish population.² It was to carry on the political work prior to the elections and in the

¹Estlander, Elva Årtionden, II, 262-64.

²Lille, Svenska National, pp. 882-92.

Landtdag. The very process of extending the party organization through the Swedish towns and villages became an effective means of awakening the country population. The highly emotional popular meetings of the Great Strike were now followed by an orderly and intensive campaign to put the new political order before the people, to effect organization, and to arouse consciousness of nationality. The explanations of the system of voting and representation, lectures by the candidates, and the very ceremony of voting for the Swedish representatives--all these activities were parts in the making of a new nationality consciousness. The first general democratic election early in 1907 was preceded by the first general appeal to all Swedes in Finland as Swedes.

But the appeal was also made through other types of organization. The Swedish Temperance League became independent of the Finnish societies in 1905; the Young People's Societies were at this time growing rapidly and effecting a national organization; in 1906, the Brage Society was organized to recover and promote the old-time singing, music, and dancing; in 1907, the Swedish Folk Academy was founded, the Swedish newspaper men organized, the initial steps were taken for the Foundation for Swedish Culture, the organization Svenska Småbruk came into existence to defend the "Swedish soil," a special day, November sixth, the day of Gustavus Adolphus' death, was set aside to be celebrated as a Swedish Day. All these organizations and activities, together with many others of a similar nature, gave the nationality movement a breadth and depth that the language fight of the upper classes had been entirely lacking.

But the central occasion for the manifold positive efforts that signalized the rally of the Swedish forces at this time was the great Swedish singing and music festival in Helsingfors, June 6-9, 1907. About 1,500 singers from all parts of Swedish Finland participated. Nya Pressen for June fifth reports:

This festival has been preceded by the National Teachers Convention and the meeting of the Swedish Farmers Association of Nyland. Meetings are also to be held by the Swedish Left, by the women of the Swedish Folk-Party, and by the Swedish Young Peoples League. In addition, the annual meeting of the Swedish Temperance League as well as the tenth general Swedish Temperance Convention will take place June 11 and 12. The Swedish academic vacation courses are given June 5-12. All these meetings are of an educational nature as is evident, grouped around the music festival which thereby becomes a real culture-festival, purposing to give a total picture of the

social and cultural endeavors which are taking place in the Swedish parts of the country.¹

All these events mark the appeal of the Swedish upper class to the formerly undisturbed Swedish "reserves." They also mark the awaking to consciousness of nationality of the Swedish masses and of their response to the appeal and to the Finnish pressure. And they further mark the beginning of the conscious struggle on the part of the whole Swedish group--class and mass together--for existence and development as a cultural nationality.

It was especially through the different societies and organizations that the nationality movement took definite form, that its energies were directed, and that an inner organization of the whole group was achieved. Such cultural organizations as the Friends of the Swedish Public School, the Swedish Literature Society, the Young People's Societies, and many others of a similar nature, were important as instruments in the general awakening. The Swedish People's Party, as the general cadre within which a variety of sub-groups and political activities could operate, was an important unifying and directive factor. Some existing economic organizations were bent to the purposes of the movement and others were especially founded to meet one serious danger--the loss of Swedish land. Finally, with the founding of a society to promote public health and racial hygiene (Folkhälsan), the efforts to improve that aspect (newly discovered) of the life of the nationality were given organized form and direction.²

¹Ibid., p. 895.

²The development and function of these organizations are outlined in greater detail in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VIII

ORGANIZATION OF THE SWEDISH NATIONALITY FOR THE STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE

The struggle which ensued as a result of the appeal to the Swedish masses has been quite different in both purposes and means from the language fight of the Swedish classes during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The front was much wider, the means of organization more numerous, and the basis much broader.

Cultural Organizations

The emergence of the Swedish nationality movement is to be found, as described in Chapter IV, in the activities of the "Scandinavians" and "Vikings." Their interest in the Swedish common people was not, however, sufficient to start a popular nationality revival, and soon this interest was largely lost in the struggle of the Swedish Party. Their interest in popular education, however, resulted in some organization and activities that have since been of inestimable value to the whole nationality.

Friends of the Swedish Public School.¹--At the suggestion of Vilhelm Grefberg, one of the original "Scandinavians," this society was organized in 1882. It was the first general Swedish cultural organization. The immediate purpose was of course indicated by the name, but the more ultimate one of survival of the nationality was indicated by the initiator in the circular calling the constituent meeting.

In spite of its intelligence, its industry, and its handiness, this element (Swedish) of our population will sooner or later be facing its total destruction, unless the cause of popular education shall be more energetically promoted than has been the case until now.²

The activities of the society were at first largely connected with the organization of public schools in the Swedish districts. As the work proceeded, financial aid was also given so

¹"Svenska Folkskolans Vänner" in Swedish.

²Einar Pontán, "Svenska Folkskolans Vänner 1882-1932," S.F.V. Kalender 1932, p. 27.

far as it was possible and necessary. Until school attendance became obligatory, and the support of primary and grammar schools was definitely taken over by the communes and the state, the society was a primary force in the organization of such schools among the Swedes.¹ During the last decade, the society has confined its endeavors with reference to primary and grammar schools largely to educationally disadvantaged Swedish minorities in certain Finnish communes.²

As the oldest distinctly Swedish cultural organization in the country, the society also became the initiator of, and pioneer in, a great number of other cultural activities. It thus became a central organ in the work for everything Swedish. The most important of these have been the fostering and aiding of Folk High Schools, the publication of popular literature,³ the arranging of annual series of lecture courses,⁴ the founding of popular libraries,⁵ and last but not least the organization of the Swedish singing and music festivals. All these activities were calculated not only to raise the general level of culture of the common people

¹Attention was first centered on the establishment of grammar schools, but as these were taken over by the state and the regular school districts about the turn of the century, interest was shifted to the establishment of separate schools of primary grades. The importance of endeavors along this line may be roughly gauged by some figures. In 1813, for instance, 91 primary schools were to some extent supported by the society. In 1918-1919, two years before the primary schools were taken over by communes and the state, there existed in the country only 419 separate and permanent schools of the primary grades. Of these, 282, or 67 per cent, were Swedish. Ibid., p. 17.

²The number of such schools has during the last few years ranged between fifteen and twenty.

³A series of nearly a hundred small volumes, popularly written and informational in nature; the annual Kalender since 1886; pictorial reviews of rural life and nature in Nyland and Ostrobothnia (in 1910 and 1912); music for the singing and music festivals; and the monthly Svenskbygden since 1922. Pontén, S.F.V. Kalender 1932, p. 20.

⁴During 1931, for instance, the lecture bureau arranged for 358 paid lectures. State grants paid for 130 of these, while the cost of 228 was paid for out of the funds of the society. For lack of funds 314 applications for lectures could not be granted. The bureau also supported 156 study circles and conducted a course for leaders of such circles. The lecture bureau has operated as a separate organization during the last few years. S. F. V. Kalender 1932, pp. 211-13.

⁵This was of considerable importance up to 1921, when the State Library Bureau took it over.

but also to serve as a means of kindling in the Swedish population a love of the Swedish language and cultural heritage.

The membership in the society has increased gradually and was about 11,000 in 1930, but the expressed wish to have a member in every Swedish home has not yet been realized. There were in all nearly eighty separate donations, amounting to about 3,700,000 marks,¹ from which the income accrued to the society.²

Folk High Schools and Young People's Societies.³ --The interest in popular education aroused in the eighties also took another direction, under influences from the Scandinavian countries. The first Swedish Folk High School was organized in the town of Borgå in 1889. Two years later, two other such schools came into existence on the initiative of men who had been in Denmark and received at its very source first hand impressions of the Folk High School movement and its significance for the people.

With these the movement was under way, and the number of schools increased rapidly. In 1909-1910 there were fourteen Swedish Folk High Schools in Finland with over 400 students.⁴ Since then the number of students has increased considerably. To these should be added a number of popular schools for Farming and Domestic Science. This development is quite remarkable in view of the fact that the Swedish rural population does not number more than about 225,000 persons.

Among the Swedes in Finland, the Folk High Schools have in most cases become a compromise between the purely inspirational and cultural type of school developed by Grundtvig in Denmark and the practical requirements of rural life. To the cultural subjects have been added those of practical farming and the domestic arts. Much of the credit for the recent advances in popular education belongs to these schools. Their students have become leaders in

¹One dollar was equal to 40 Finnmarks in 1930.

²The sums distributed by the society in support of educational activities amounted to about 108,000 marks in 1931 and 112,000 marks in 1932.

³Unless otherwise indicated, this brief presentation is based largely on John Österholm, "Folkhögskolan" and "Ungdomsrörelsen," Det Svenska Finland, III, 158-65 and 166-71 respectively; on the two articles "Den Svenska Folkhögskolan" and "Ungdomsrörelsen," Finlands Svenskar (Helsingfors: Schildt, 1923), pp. 61-66 and 71-75 respectively; and Lille, Svenska National, pp. 683-93.

⁴Statistisk Årsbok för Finland 1930, Table 183, p. 206.

rural life and influenced it both ideally and practically.

The Folk High Schools have also served the nationality movement more directly. Not only have they advanced intellectual and practical education among the rural young people, but they have also awakened in them a love of country, and especially of the Swedish language and the cultural heritage of their fathers in its many aspects. The schools have thus served as sources and centers of the ideology and sentiments of the Swedish nationality movement.

The Young People's movement among the Swedes in Finland had no Scandinavian prototypes and developed experimentally and in close affiliation and interaction with the Folk High Schools. The first societies were organized in 1888, one in Ostrobothnia and the other in Åboland. As the number of societies grew, they achieved first a provincial and finally a national organization.¹ In 1923, there were about 200 societies with a membership of approximately 20,000.

These societies sponsor lectures, discussions, amateur theatricals, concerts, choral singing, folk-dancing as well as modern dances, sport meets and popular festivals, and similar types of entertainments. Their buildings and grounds have thus become highly important social centers, especially for the rural young people. They have also given support to Folk High Schools, sponsored local historical and ethnographical studies, established local museums, and conducted singing and music festivals.

The aims of the leaders of the Young People's movement has constantly been to make the societies and their activities not only the instrument of popular and civic education but also a stronghold and active promotive agency, especially in the rural and mixed districts, of the Swedish language and culture.² The Young People's movement has thus had a strongly emphasized nationality character. It created in the young people a desire to be Swedish in mind and language and to fall in line with the projected

¹The name of the national organization is in Swedish "Finlands Svenska Ungdomsförbund."

²Among the Swedish leaders who have taken a prominent part in the Folk High School and Young People's movement the following may be mentioned: Johannes Klockars, Valter Meinander, Karl T. Oljemark, Jakob Tegengren, Petrus Nordman, Einar Holmberg, Max Hanemann, Arvid Mörne, Gabriel Nikander, Rafael Colliander, and John Österholm.

aims and organized efforts of the whole nationality movement.¹

This emphasis on nationality problems has also found expression in the attempts to establish and keep up contacts with the Young People's organizations in Sweden. Group visits in both directions were undertaken before the war and have since become quite regular occurrences in connection with the singing and music festivals.²

Temperance societies.--The Swedish temperance societies also had a somewhat similar significance. Originally they belonged to a bilingual central organization but withdrew in 1905 and achieved an independent Swedish organization. This gave impetus to the movement, and rapid progress was made during the next decade. By 1917 there were not less than about 300 local societies of children or adults with a total membership of about 20,000.³ Though having no direct nationalistic purposes these societies and their activities were significant also as a part of the whole popular awakening of that period and of the endeavors to achieve separate Swedish organizations in practically all fields of social and cultural life.

Singing and music festivals.--The Swedish singing and music festivals were a very important factor in the development of the Swedish nationality movement. Bilingual singing and music festivals were first arranged in Finland by the bilingual "Society for Popular Education," under the inspiration of previous singing festivals in Esthonia.⁴ This society was, however, dominated by the Fennomen who began to use the festivals, in spite of the presence of the Swedish singers and public, as occasions for Finnish nationalistic propaganda.⁵

¹The by-laws of one society, which may be taken as typical, indicate the aims of the society as follows: "To keep up the interest in popular education, to work for good manners and communal progress, to support according to ability endeavors for the common (public) good, and, having in mind the interests of the common Fatherland, to work for the maintenance of the Swedish language and culture." Österholm, Det Svenska Finland, III, 166.

²The first organized group visit to Sweden of Swedish young people from Finland was made in 1908. Three years later a return visit by young people from Sweden took place. After the war, Swedish young people from both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia met for the first time in 1922 at a big music festival on Åland.

³Finlands Svenskar, pp. 153-55; Lille, Svenska National, pp. 897-98.

⁴Estlander, Elva Årtionden, II, 236.

⁵Lille, Svenska National, pp. 710-11.

The Swedish leaders then came to the conclusion that there must be a separation: Swedish festivals for Swedes, and Finnish festivals for Finns. The society already presented, "Friends of the Swedish Public School," undertook to sponsor the first separate Swedish singing and music festival at Ekenäs in 1891. Since that time such festivals have been held every year. Most of them have been local, others provincial, and a few national in scope. Some of these have been of special importance, as for instance, the one held in Helsingfors, June 6-9, 1907, in which 1,500 singers participated. Around this festival were grouped a great number of educational activities and annual meetings of different organizations. Coming just at the time when the Swedish masses were being aroused, the festival as a whole represented and gave a "synthetic picture of the moral and cultural efforts" that were then being made by the whole nationality.¹

A still more impressive one, in a way climaxing all the previous festivals, took place also in Helsingfors on Midsummer Day in 1920. The main number on the program was Jordens Sång (Song of the Earth) with words by the young and brilliant poet Hemmer and music by the famous Sibelius. The chorus consisted of about 3,000 country young people from the Swedish parts of Finland.² It was by far the largest cultural festival that had ever taken place in the country. Another festival of similar dimensions was held in Helsingfors in June, 1932.

The consolidation of the Swedish nationality, including both country and city, took place at the music festivals which began in the early nineties of the last century at the initiative of the "Friends of the Swedish Public School." It was here that the Swedish nationality idea, the sense of community, most powerfully took hold of the hosts of young people who had gathered from all the Swedish country. It has not without reason been claimed that these music festivals constitute the historical starting point of the Swedish nationality movement.³

Behind the festivals have stood the hundreds of young people's societies and chorouses. Rehearsals have been an important activity during the previous winter. The text of the songs has engendered nationality sentiments. The festivals finally have become general mobilizations of the scattered groups through which consensus was achieved.

¹Ibid., p. 895. ²Finlands Svenskar, p. 125.

³Lille, Svenska National, p. 1,010.

The Brage Society.--The Brage Society was organized in 1906 for the purpose of reviving the folk-culture of Svensk-Finland as expressed in folk-lore, customs, music, games, dress, and dances. Through active sections in each of these fields the aims of the society have been achieved to a surprising extent. Of the old folk-songs, more than a hundred have been arranged for choral singing, and they have become increasingly popular with both rural and urban choirs. Dancing teams and "fiddling" contests have been organized. The dancing teams are especially popular. A dramatic section has been successful in having the old customs woven into pageants and plays representing the old folk-life.

The society has also from the very beginning worked for the revival of the old folk-costumes. Its members wear them on festive occasions, and the idea has been taken up by the young people's organizations. Each parish has its own more or less distinctive dress. At the singing and music festival, both local and national, the hundreds or thousands of young people, especially women, in the old folk-costumes contribute color and atmosphere to the gatherings. The society has thus through its various activities contributed greatly to the appreciation and revival of the old Swedish folk-culture.¹

Brage has also organized a news-cutting file that is unique. It is a complete history of the Swedish nationality and its activities since 1910--as reflected the Swedish newspapers published in Finland.

Swedish Literature Society and the Foundation for Swedish Culture.²--By their promotion of literature, historic research, education, and other cultural activities these organizations have also become an important part of the Swedish movement.

The Swedish Literature Society was founded in 1885 largely through the initiative of Professor C. G. Estlander "to gather and preserve the evidences of what the Swedish culture in Finland has achieved."³ It was dedicated to the memory of the poet Runeberg.

¹Presentation is based on the article "Föreningen Brage," Finlands Svenskar, pp. 146-50; Lille, Svenska National, pp. 896-97; Estlander, Elva Artionden, IV, 90-93.

²The names are in Swedish respectively Svenska Litteratursällskapet and Svenska Kulturfonden.

³Lille, Svenska National, p. 477. Behind the founding of the society also seems to have lurked the desire to disprove Snellman's statement that the Swedish literature in Finland was a "listless and impotent beggar." Ibid., p. 479.

The by-laws state that the aim of the society shall be

- a) To collect, prepare, and publish material relative to the origin and development of Swedish literature in Finland;
- b) To further research concerning the Swedish language and its dialects; and
- c) To promote literary activities in the Swedish language by rewards and subsidies.¹

In pursuit of these aims the society had by 1923 published not less than 166 volumes in the fields of biography, history, philology, literary criticism, and folk-lore. A great number of stipends have been granted to research men and writers. In 1916, there existed in the folkloristic archives of the society over 81,000 manuscript pages of material. This material is now being published in two large series of volumes, entitled respectively Finland's Swedish Folklore and Folkloristic and Ethnographical Studies.² These volumes are notable not only and simply as scholarly achievements, but also and especially because of the new appreciation of the old folk culture that they are creating.

At the beginning of 1923 the funds of the society amounted to about 3,000,000 marks. By the end of 1933 they had through new donations increased to nearly 9,000,000 marks.³

When the Swedish People's Party was organized in 1906, the idea was also broached that a Foundation should be started to support Swedish cultural activities and institutions in times of difficulties. The following year subscription list were sent out. The Foundation was to be managed by the Swedish Literature Society which was then the foremost Swedish cultural organization in the country. The first distribution of aid to different institutions took place in 1915, when the funds had reached the sum of 1,000,000 marks.

By that time a general program for the activities of the Foundation had been worked out. This program provided that in making grants the following types of institutions should be considered: institutions for theoretical education; schools for trades and practical skills; societies and organizations for cul-

¹Stadgar för Svenska Litteratursällskapet in Finland, published as an appendix in Förhandlingar och Uppsatser, 34 (1920), Vol. CLVII of Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland (Helsingfors, 1921).

²Lille, Svenska National, pp.476-87; Estlander, Elva Årtionden, II, 134-35; Finlands Svenskar, pp. 39-43.

³Huvudstadsbladet, February 8, 1934.

tural purposes; other undertakings which in a general way were serving the Swedish cultural interests.¹ Annual grants have also since that time been made to a large number of such institutions.

The funds have also increased rapidly, especially through large donations by persons of wealth. In 1923, the funds had reached the sum of 7,365,000 marks, and by the end of 1933 they had risen to 31,000,000 marks.² Grants could naturally be increased both in number and size.

Åbo Akademi.--It may be recalled that the first university in Finland, Åbo Akademi, was founded in 1640 in the city of Åbo, but removed to the new capital Helsingfors in 1828 and rechristened the "Imperial Alexander University." With the rise and progress of the Finnish nationality movement, the number of students with Finnish as their mother tongue increased rapidly, and after the democratic revolution it became evident that the university would also become increasingly Finnicized.

It was then important to the Swedes to exercise forethought and make provisions for their educational interests. The Swedish nationality in Finland, to be sure, counted only a third of a million; but because a large part of this was urban, the percentage of educated persons was high. The number of students was therefore so high that there would in all probability be enough to support both that part of the state university that would remain Swedish and a new university which more than the state university could concentrate on the scientific tasks of importance to the Swedish nationality.³

The idea of reviving Åbo Akademi as a Swedish university appealed to the educated Swedish classes in the city of Åbo, and several large donations by persons of wealth finally made the idea financially realizable. Academic summer courses were started in Åbo in 1913, and in 1917 the Åbo Akademi Foundation came into existence for the purpose of reviving Åbo Akademi as a new university with Swedish as the language of instruction. Buildings were secured in the center of Åbo, close to the location of the old university. In January, 1919, the work of the revived Åbo Akademi began with a faculty of twelve and a student body of forty-nine.⁴ The sociologist Edward Westermarck, otherwise Professor of Social

¹Lille, Svenska National, pp. 950-57; Finlands Svenskar, pp. 42-43.

²Huvudstadsbladet, February 8, 1934.

³Åbo Akademi, en översikt (2d ed.; Åbo, 1931), pp. 8-9.

⁴Finlands Svenskar, pp. 35-39; Estlander, Elva Årtienden, IV, 93-98.

Ethics at the University of London, served as "rektor" for the first three years.

The university has gradually grown in every respect. During the second semester of the school year 1931-1932, there were 282 students registered, and the faculty had increased to about fifty. The following departments (faculties) have been in operation since 1927: humanities, mathematics and natural science, political science, chemical-technical, theological, and business administration. The funds have increased from 27,000,000 marks in 1920 to about 67,000,000 marks in 1930.¹

The Swedish People's Party

When the new political order came into existence in 1905, the opinions as to the next step differed considerably among the influential Swedes. The conservatives wished to reorganize the old class party; the radicals wished to organize a progressive party that would make social and economic reforms the chief planks in its platform; and those who treasured the memories of the coöperation with the Young Finns in the Constitutional Party favored the organization of an all-inclusive and non-political Swedish Culture League. In political matters the Swedes were to support whichever Finnish party seemed most friendly or least hostile to the Swedish interests.²

The majority of the leaders, however, came to favor the organization of a regular Swedish political party, based on nationality and language, and otherwise with a frame so wide that different political and economic sub-groups could organize and operate within the party.³ The organization of such a party was considered

¹Åbo Akademi, pp. 16-21, 28-30.

The Finnish newspapers did not receive the announcement of the revival of Åbo Akademi as a Swedish university with any acclaim. To some Finnish circles the new institution was "an artificial means to preserve a system which is unnatural and absurd to a sound future for the Finnish people." Even the more moderate circles gave support to the idea of establishing also a Finnish university in Åbo. A campaign for funds was carried on through the Finnish districts "as a protest of the whole patriotic Finnish Finland against Swededom." The new Finnish university in Åbo was officially opened in 1927. Estlander, Elva Artionden, IV, 98.

²Lille, Svenska National, pp. 871-72, 882-83; Rafael Collander, Svenska Folkpartiet i Finland 1906-1926 (Helsingfors, 1926), pp. 9-10.

³Lille, Svenska National, pp. 885-87.

necessary in order to meet the attacks that the Finnish press and party programs heralded for the new democratized Landtdag.

Are the Swedes here no longer threatened? One needs only to look at the whole line of Finnish papers from Uusi Suometar (Old Finnish) to Työmies (Socialist). In the first one it is said that we cannot afford two forms of culture; therefore Swedish must go. The Young Finnish papers only too often give space to pronouncements to the effect that an educated class with Swedish as its mother tongue is a danger to the country. And among the Finnish workers, nationalism aroused by decades of agitation by the Old Finns, is finding shocking expression in the hatred and persecution of Swedish workers.

Or can one say that the language question is definitely settled while the Young Finnish party is insisting on a new language regulation forbidding entirely the use of Swedish in intra-administrative correspondence and while the Old Finnish party is demanding the complete Finnization of all the higher educational institutions? In other words, the Swedish party must, for reasons of pure self-preservation and unless the Swedish nationality wishes to commit political suicide, rally as a political party to defend the interests of its language and culture.¹

The Swedish People's Party was consequently organized at the constituent party convention in Helsingfors, May 20-21, 1906. Dr. Axel Lille had suggested the name as well as drawn up a program for the party, which he had already come to envision as the great means of stirring up the Swedish masses.² On social and economic questions the platform was brief and general, but liberal. On language and educational questions it was more specific. It proposed the enactment by the Landtdag of a new language law to contain the following provisions: that every citizen shall have the right to use his own language in the courts and administrative offices and be served by them in the same way; that officials in their inter-correspondence shall have the right to choose and use the language most pertinent to the case in question; that communes and cities shall be regarded as either mono- or bi-lingual in accordance with certain principles, and that the rights of the minority shall in either case be safeguarded; that knowledge of

¹Lille, Svenska National, pp. 893-94.

²On the opening day of the convention, Lille wrote in Nya Pressen: "The Swedish party which is to be organized today, must be a popular party not only in the sense of favoring social reforms but also in the sense that it will stir up the Swedish masses, work for an approach of the masses and the classes, draw the former into the political struggle and thus get their eyes opened to their duty toward themselves and our country to participate in the struggle for the preservation of the old Swedish cultural heritage." Ibid., p. 894.

both languages of the country shall be required of all persons seeking state employment; that Swedish shall for all times be used as a language of instruction in lower, technical, and higher schools, in accordance with the needs of those having it as their mother tongue; that the Swedish educational institutions shall be supported by the state in accordance with principles applying to the Finnish institutions; that the teachers at the university shall be required to know both languages, but shall in their personal instruction use the language of the student.¹

The first election under the system of universal adult suffrage and proportional representation took place in March, 1907. The total number of votes cast in the country was about 890,000, or about 70 per cent of the whole electorate. Among the Swedes, the vote cast was almost 90 per cent of those qualified to vote. The two hundred representatives were divided between the parties as follows: Social Democrats 80, National Party (Old Finns) 59, Young Finnish Party 26, Swedish People's Party 24, Agrarian Union 9, Christian Socialists 2.²

The implication of these figures with reference to the political status and importance of the Swedish group in the Lantdag are of course quite obvious. The old Swedish party under the system of class representation dominated two Estates out of four. The new Swedish party under the system of popular representation could never hope to become more than a minority of one-eighth. The number of Swedish representatives has varied somewhat in succeeding elections, but not enough to change appreciably the size and role of the party in the Lantdag. The number has been as high as 26 and as low as 21.

The Swedish representatives in the Lantdag have, however, quite often wielded a much greater influence than the mere numbers would indicate. The Finns have frequently been so evenly divided between the Social Democrats, on the one hand, and the Finnish bourgeois parties, on the other, that neither group could command a majority in the Lantdag. The governing cabinet has usually been a coalition of two of the Finnish bourgeois parties, but often they have also had to seek the support of the Swedish group in or-

¹Lille, Svenska National, pp. 889-91. The idea was still to secure for the future the practical equality of the Swedish with the Finnish language by means of a legal guarantee.

²Statistisk Årsbok 1930, p. 278.

der to be able to carry on. And that has usually meant at least a temporary toning down of the anti-Swedish points in their platforms.

Similarly, the Social Democratic ministry of 1927 carried on the government for more than a year with the support of the Swedish representatives against the combined forces of the other Finnish parties--a procedure which chagrined the latter deeply and gave their papers many an occasion to vituperate against such an unholy alliance. The Finnish Socialists are no doubt Finnish-minded and have never sacrificed any "Finnish rights" to favor the Swedes, but language questions have a much more subordinate place in their program, and they have generally seemed much less inclined to launch attacks on existing relations between the two languages.¹

The Swedes have occasionally also entered into coalition ministries with the Finnish bourgeois parties. Such was the case with the Castrén ministry in 1919 (for a while), the Ingman ministry that fell in the spring of 1925, and so also the Sunila ministry that had to deal with the Lapua-movement² when it ran off its rails in 1932, and the Kivimäki ministry that followed. It has not been possible to elect a Swedish candidate for the presidency, but in the last two elections (1925 and 1931) the Finnish votes were again so evenly divided that the Swedish electors in either case decided which one of the two leading Finnish candidates was to occupy the presidential chair for the next six years. In 1925, Relander was elected over Ryti with the aid of the Swedish votes, and in 1931 the majority of the Swedish votes went to Svinhuvud who defeated Ståhlberg by only two votes. Both were former Young Finns.

The internal organization of the Swedish People's Party should also be noted. Based primarily on language and the consciousness of a common (cultural) nationality, the party was in-

¹Requested to define its attitude on the language question, the Social Democratic party convention in 1906 adopted a resolution to the effect that the Finnish language should be promoted as an educational and literary medium, but that the Swedish language should also be promoted in Finland since it was the language of the Swedish population in the country and a connecting link between Finland and Scandinavia (Finlands Svenskar, p. 159). Somewhat similar and conciliatory resolutions on the language question have also been adopted by several subsequent party conventions.

²See infra, Chapter X.

tended to include the whole Swedish population, irrespective of educational attainments, vocational status, or economic interests. The party conventions have consequently also refrained from definite pronouncements on social and economic questions. On such questions various opinions may be held and actively supported by individuals and by groups organized within the party--a policy which also agrees rather well with the individualistic bent and traditions among the Swedes. There has consequently also been little if any party discipline or coercion, and no particular party press.

Numerous sub-groups, as was originally anticipated, have also been organized within the party around and in support of some specific program. Some of these groups have had only agrarian interests, while others have promoted a much wider political program. Politically they have ranged from the Left to the extreme Right.²

Organized in this inclusive and flexible manner, the party has survived, but not without difficulties. While the question of the future status of the Åland Islands was actual, the cohesive forces of the party were severely taxed. The policies of the executive committee, which at that time was made up largely of Swedish leaders in the capital, were roundly criticized, especially in Ostrobothnia, and a still further decentralization proposed. The party "presented during the spring of 1920 the appearance of a party in dissolution; unrest was prevalent in many quarters, and measures were taken which seemed to lead to a division of the party."³

At the party convention in 1923, the difference again became pronounced between, on the one hand, the popular tendency of the previous years to seek a wide Swedish cultural and administra-

¹Finlands Svenskar, p. 18.

²The most important of these groups organized within the party are the following, in chronological order: a Left existed from the very beginning; a definite Agrarian group came into existence in 1914; the small Freeholders in Nyland organized in 1917; the Swedish Republican Left (later changed to the Swedish Left) made its appearance in 1919; a new Farmers' League saw daylight in Ostrobothnia in 1920, and a similar one in Nyland in 1924; and in 1930 the League for Bourgeois Coöperation (with the Finnish bourgeois parties against Communism) was born as a definite Right wing of the party. Colliander, Svenska Folkpartiet, pp. 38-39, 40-44, 68.

³Ibid., p. 67.

tive autonomy (as represented by the Swedish Folkting¹), and, on the other hand, the interests of the upper commercial and professional classes whose field of activities may be the whole country and whose interests would be likely to suffer by rigid local autonomies and by any aggravation of the conflict between the two nationalities.²

How difficult it has been to keep together a political party made up of such diverse elements, only those may know who have for some time been close to the central organization. More than once the cohesion has been severely tried; more than once it has seemed as if the prophecies of the opponents at the birth of the party and at various times since about its near disruption were to be fulfilled. But the feeling of being Swedish and the realization that a minority population as sorely pressed as the Swedish can safeguard its future only by united action have defeated the divisive interests.³

Those are the factors that have held the heterogeneous party together: the feeling of being Swedish and the realization of the danger of overt disagreement. To these should perhaps be added the constant pressure, purposive or otherwise, of the Finnish majority on the minority group.

Economic Organizations

Certain economic organizations were also developed for direct or indirect defense of the values involved in the Swedish nationality movement. Chief among these were those concerned with

¹See infra, Chapter X.

²This conflict seems to have at least two aspects. One is the conflict between the interests of the upper cultural stratum of the Swedes, most heavily concentrated in the capital, and the Swedish masses of the smaller towns and rural districts. The former are more concerned with the status of the Swedish language in the country as a whole and the accessibility to the offices of central administration of Swedes as well as Finns, while the latter are more concerned about the cultural autonomy of the Swedish districts. This difference in emphasis makes a difference in policy.

The other main aspect is more directly economic. The larger economic interests: industrialist, financier, commercialist, are opposed to language policies that would hamper their activities outside of the Swedish districts. The rural coöperatives, on the other hand, have gradually withdrawn from the centrals dominated by Finnish interests. For discussion of these problems see the two pamphlets Den Svenska Folkstammens Ställning i Finland, by Amos Anderson, and Diskussion om den Svenska Folkstammens Ställning i Finland (Helsingfors, 1924).

³Colliander, Svenska Folkpartiet, p. 137.

the defense of the "Swedish soil," the local and central coöperatives, and certain other financial institutions.

In Chapter VII it was pointed out that the revolutionary industrial changes in Finland after 1865 brought about new population movements. In southern Finland the rural Swedes migrated to the cities; from Ostrobothnia a heavy migration of Swedes to foreign countries, chiefly the United States, got under way; and everywhere Finns from the inland came in a steady stream to the industrial centers and commercial cities within the Swedish districts.

Transfer of land.--Another aspect of this population movement which soon began to attract attention was that farms and estates began to pass out of Swedish and into Finnish hands. Finns from the inland began to appear where Swedish farms or estates were for sale and overbid the local prospective buyers. Thus farm after farm, especially on or near the language boundary, passed into Finnish hands. The Swedish press after 1900 also reflects an awareness of this process of penetration by the Finns, for the brief but condemnatory notices of Swedish farms and larger estates that had passed into Finnish hands became increasingly frequent. And the danger to the Swedish nationality of such transfers was gradually being realized.¹

Most of the Finns who thus entered the Swedish communes were already race or nationality conscious, due to the popular nationalist propaganda among the Finns during the previous decades. They therefore tended to become active agents of Finnization, having no idea of adopting the Swedish language and of becoming a real part of the Swedish community. They behaved rather as if it had been the duty of the Swedes to learn Finnish. And one Finnish family once established generally attracted others, some of which remained landless. A Finnish colony, partly landed and partly landless, thus once established in a Swedish commune tended to become permanent with the establishment of a Finnish school. Voices therefore became more and more frequent among the Swedes against the transfer of farms or estates from Swedes to Finns. These pro-

¹The contention, sometimes heard in Swedish communities, that these Finns had the financial backing of influential Finnish organizations seems to have little evidence behind it. The movement is better explained in terms of certain economic factors and the higher rate of urbanization of the Swedes.

tests, to be sure, again came first from the upper classes who realized the value for the continued existence of the nationality of the possession and cultivation of the soil by its masses, but they soon found ready response among the Swedish farmers who were the first to feel the immediate undesirable effects of the establishment of a permanent Finnish colony in their midst.

Defense organizations.--For the purpose of counteracting the rural penetration of the Finns and of defending the Swedish soil in the province of Nylend a corporation, combining the features of a land bank and real estate firm, was organized in 1908 and began its activities the following year.¹ The principal method of operation by this corporation was to buy larger farms and estates which were in danger of falling into Finnish hands in the Swedish parishes and parcel them out on time payments to Swedes who might not otherwise be in position to become independent farmers. Generally one-fifth of the price was paid at the time of the sale with the rest to be paid over a ten-year period. Preference was given to young men with some agricultural education. The charter was changed in 1910 so as to enable the corporation to operate anywhere in the country.

From 1909 to the end of 1925 this corporation had created over 1,000 small farms consisting of 5,409 hectares of cultivated land and 14,134 hectares of woodland to the value of 31 million Finnish marks.² At the latter date the capitalization was one million marks, on which dividends of six per cent on par value of shares was being paid. The corporation also accumulated a reserve fund of 350,000 marks and a fund for rural education of 477,000 marks.³ This activity has since continued along the same lines. By the close of 1930, over 1,200 independent small farms had been established, the paid-in capitalization of the corporation on which eight per cent dividends were paid was 1,200,000 marks, the outstanding loans amounted to almost 14,000,000 marks, the reserve fund was 500,000 marks, and the educational fund had reached the

¹The name of the corporation in Swedish is Svenska småbruk och egna hem, which translated literally means "Swedish Small Farms and Independent Homes."

²With the dollar equal to 40 marks (during the period 1920-1931), 31 million marks would be the equivalent of \$775,000.

³Finlands Svenskar, p. 176; Colliander, Svenska Folkpartiet, pp. 23-25.

sum of 1,533,000 marks.¹ The corporation has also conducted a school for rural arts and crafts, supported lecture courses and institutes for country people, and in various other ways initiated and aided rural cultural activities.²

Similar corporations were organized in Åboland in 1912 and in Österbotten in 1917. They operated in the same way though on a smaller scale. The one in Åboland got into difficulties after the inflation in 1919 and was finally taken over by Svenska Småbruk which continued its activities. The one in Österbotten had a capitalization of 750,000 marks in 1925.³

Coupled with these direct economic activities of the protective corporations an intensive propaganda was carried on among the rural Swedish population. The individual's loyalty to his nationality was challenged, the farmer who disposed of his farm to a Finnish buyer was branded as traitor to his race, and the disagreeableness and increased communal expense because of a Finnish colony in the Swedish commune were emphasized.⁴ Finally, by tacit agreement the selectmen in most of the Swedish communes undertook to prevent, either by persuasion of the seller or by raising the bids, the passing of farms into the hands of Finns. An appraisal of this aspect of the nationality movement in 1920 contains the following paragraphs:

Our Swedishness has under the last decade been operating under the influence of a remarkable discovery: the Swedish land. . . . We perceived that if the day should come when Swedish land no longer existed in Finland, we should then lack rooting in our own country, we should live as debtors to others and our Swedishness would be illegitimate.

The Swedish land-pathos which thus grew forth had its definite aims: it created a popular will against the selling of land to Finns and pressed home the importance of keeping the land in the hands of the farmers, for only thus could this

¹Svenska småbruk och egna hem, Årsberättelse, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, and 1930.

²Erie v. Rettig, Historik, A. B. svenska småbruk och egna hem (Helsingfors, 1923).

³Colliander, Svenska Folkpartiet, pp. 30, 31-32, 35-36.

⁴Judging from the material pertinent to this question in Brages Urklippsverk (B, XVIII, c), these economic and propaganda activities aroused considerable resentment in the Finnish press. The expression "Swedish land," as it was used in Finnish, was held up as another index of the "foreignness" of the Swedish strivings. That Finns should not be allowed freely to buy land in their own country wherever they chose was interpreted as an insult to them.

land remain a support and holdfast for a Swedish nationality in Finland.¹

Due then, at least in part, to the operations of the above mentioned corporations, as well as to the propaganda they have spread and the attitudes that have thus been created among the Swedish country population, the passing of Swedish farms into the hands of Finns have become increasingly rare occurrences since about 1920.²

Coöperatives and agricultural societies.--The coöperative organizations among the Swedes are practically synchronous with the nationality movement in their development and even reflect its phases. It was in 1907 and 1908 that the coöperative movement began to make headway and become an economic and social influence among the Swedes. The growth from then on was rapid. The membership of the consumers' coöperatives was 7,600 in 1910, but had grown to about 30,000 in 1920. The value of their business had also grown from 3,700,000 to 114,000,000 marks during the same period.³ The total number of Swedish local coöperative organizations of all kinds was nearly 500 in 1921.⁴

These were drawn within the sphere of the nationality movement. Up to the period of the Red Revolt and the adjustments that followed in many fields, the Swedish coöperatives, whether organized for buying or marketing, were ordinarily members of the

¹Hans Ruin, "Vad sker med den svenska jorden," Nya Argus, XIII (1920), No. 20, 160. The same writer, however, sees a great menace to the future of the rural Swedish population in the province of Nyland in the increasing industrialization and urbanization. The farmer is becoming a real-estater or "rentier," factories continue to form Finnish colonies, the fishermen-tenants along the coast find it economically impossible to buy the land they have long occupied, and it is passing into the hands of wealthy urbanites as sites for their summer homes.

²The agrarian legislation and the colonization policy pursued by the government since the country became independent, making it possible for most private and state tenants to buy the land they cultivated on favorable conditions and otherwise for the landless to secure land on easy terms, has greatly increased the number of small independent farmers throughout the country as a whole. This has apparently tended to decrease the pressure of the formerly landless Finnish population on the Swedish areas and nearly done away entirely with landlessness among the Swedish rural population. The number of independent farmers in the Swedish areas increased during the period 1919-1927 by 17,000 å 18,000.

³J. Qvist, "Handel och Sjöfart," Det Svenska Finland, III, 62.

⁴Finlands Svenskar, p. 173.

bilingual central organizations which were dominated by the Finnish majorities and under Finnish leadership. In the beginning this was no doubt an economic advantage, but at the period mentioned the feeling seems to have become widespread among the Swedish coöperatives that they must effect independent central organizations.

The deciding factor in this matter was the experience that the coöperatives are not only of great economic but also of political significance in that the different groups and classes of the population can be drawn together on this basis. Furthermore, a strong central organization is in the position greatly to support the educational work in the country, and a predominantly Finnish organization could hardly be expected to interest itself in Swedish (educational) enterprises.¹

In consequence, the Swedish coöperatives gradually withdrew from the predominantly Finnish central organizations and effected central organizations of their own. Only the most important need be mentioned. In 1917 the purchasing society "Labor" became the central organization of the Swedish consumers' coöperatives. "Enigheten," a central organization for the marketing of dairy products came into existence in 1819. And finally, at a congress of Swedish coöperatives at Vasa in 1920, the "Union of Swedish Coöperatives" was organized as the central coördinating agency of all the Swedish coöperatives in Finland, "not as a result of dissension in coöperative matters, but in order to bring about a collaboration of the two nationalities as equal partners."²

There also existed in 1920 three provincial Agricultural Societies with thirty agrio-economic suborganizations in Swedish Finland. Their function was to promote--with state aid--agriculture, dairying, and forestry and to conduct exhibits, institutes, and agricultural experiments. From their organization early in the century these societies belonged to a national bilingual organization, but in 1910 they felt themselves forced, because of "language oppression," to withdraw and start a central organization of their own.³

The coöperative and agricultural societies with their economic, political, and educational features have thus also been drawn within the sphere of the nationality movement and become another factor in the achievement of group self-consciousness and

¹Qvist, Det Svenska Finland, III, 64-65.

²Finlands Svenskar, p. 173.

³Ibid., pp. 170-71.

corporate action among the Swedes.

Banking.--Even the general economic and financial organization have to some extent been made to serve nationality purposes in Finland. Already in the nineties of the last century banking institutions and insurance companies were purposely organized as part of the Finnish nationality movement. A number of independent commercial banks were also organized by Swedes to serve the Swedish public. More specifically related to the Swedish nationality movement, however, are some rather ambitious banking organizations started after 1910 and designed to serve especially the rural Swedish population and the Swedish coöperatives.¹ All of these together with most of the other small Swedish banks have found the going difficult during the last decade, and have gradually been absorbed by two stronger banks, which are generally classed as Swedish and which now rank as number two and three in the country.² Insurance companies have also been organized to operate especially among the Swedish population. All this reflects the penetration of nationality sentiments also into the field of economic and financial activities.

For Racial Improvement

It has already been pointed out that the urban trend and the heavy foreign emigration were very seriously affecting the growth of the Swedish population after 1890. Two other factors, both biological, also contributed to the stagnation in the growth

¹Qvist, Det svenska Finland, III, 69-70.

²In November, 1932, a year after one of the largest Finnish banking institutions went on the rocks and was taken over by the largest Finnish bank in the country--with the aid of the state--the seeming strength of the so-called Swedish banks was the subject of complaints in several Finnish papers. "The Swedish financial institutions march triumphantly with the money of the Finns over the ruins of the Finnish business life," one of them wrote. Svenska Pressen, November 30, 1932.

The fact, on the other hand, that the fusion of the two Finnish banks created the largest financial institution in the country was commented on in this wise by another Finnish paper: "From the Finnish-national point of view the event is one of the most remarkable in our economic life. When a Finnish-language and Finnish-minded financial institution has now in its own country occupied absolutely the foremost place, as is befitting, that milestone which the great men of the national revival caught a glimpse of though as in a dream has already been passed. . . . The contest for the first place is decided. Now remains the many duties that this involves." Ibid., December 23, 1931.

of population, namely a high rate of infant mortality, and a high rate of tuberculosis. Both rates were especially high in Ostrobothnia.

As the Swedish revival progressed, it was realized that the future of the Swedish nationality in the country did ultimately rest upon its biological fitness for survival, rather than upon any legal provisions.¹ Organizations were consequently developed to deal with the biological factors that threatened the survival of the group.

A special commission was established by the Swedish Literature Society in 1911, which, backed by a special donation, undertook to investigate the health and living conditions in certain Swedish communes. As new donations for similar purposes occurred, a separate organization called Folkhälsan (Popular Health),² was effected in 1921. The stated purpose of the organization was to promote popular health among the Swedes in Finland. A scientific section was to carry out investigations of the health conditions among the population, while a practical division was to promote measures for the improvement of such conditions.

Under the auspices of the scientific section studies have been made of the distribution of the blood groups among the Swedes, of vital statistics of the rural communes, and of the prevalence of tuberculosis in selected rural areas. The results have also been published.³ The practical section has promoted health education by means of literature and lectures and conducted courses for leaders of play and gymnastics. Much more important, however, is the employment of public health nurses by the rural communes. The "health sisters," as they are called, work under the supervision of Folkhälsan and deal especially with the two problems of child-care and tuberculosis.

Folkhälsan also attempts to promote positive eugenics. Premiums are annually paid to mentally and physically sound and healthy parents of Swedish origin who have at least four healthy

¹Finlands Svenskar, p. 137.

²The complete name in Swedish is Samfundet Folkhälsan i Svenska Finland.

³Robert Tigerstedt, Om spritdryckerna (Helsingfors, 1922); Ernst Lindelöf, Finlands svenska landskommuner (Helsingfors, 1923); Olof Sievers, Studier över isoagglutinationen (Helsingfors, 1927); B. G. Svensson, Berättelse över modifierad massundersökning rörande tuberkulosens utbredning i Sjundeå under maj-juli 1930 (Helsingfors, 1931).

and well-cared-for children. Its motto is: "There must be no poor (biologically) Swedes in Finland." During the year 1929 the expenses of the organization amounted to about 210,000 marks, and its invested funds had by the end of that year reached the sum of approximately 3,000,000 marks.¹

Another foundation² which began its activities in 1914 is working with much larger funds in the related fields of child welfare and educational aid--largely among the Swedish population. It is supporting a considerable number of child welfare organizations; it has initiated and partly supported school lunches in several hundred Swedish public schools, and aids a large number of Swedish school children with both food and clothing; it is aiding summer colonies for poor city children (in Helsingfors and Gamlakarleby); and it is supporting dormitories at secondary schools, especially for children from Swedish families of small means living in Finnish districts. The invested funds of the foundation amounted in 1922 to about 15,000,000 marks and the income available for grants was about 1,200,000 marks.³

The Swedish Foundations

This chapter should not be concluded without a brief consideration of the Swedish cultural foundations. Most of these have come into existence since the beginning of this century.⁴ They now exist to promote almost every aspect of cultural life but with a great concentration in the field of education. Some of their capital was lost in the inflation after the Red Revolt when the Finnmark depreciated to one-eighth of its previous value,

¹Finlands Svenskar, pp. 137-42; Samfundet Folkh lsans i Svenska Finland F rhandlingar, 1921-1922, 1929-1930.

²The name in Swedish is Stiftelsen Brita Renlunds Minne.

³Lille, Svenska National, pp. 958-59; Finlands Svenskar, pp. 69-71. In 1933, the foundation aided 17 child welfare institutions with 608,800 marks; it used 315,000 marks for feeding and clothing poor Swedish school children; it aided summer camps for poor children with 133,500 marks; and it aided dormitories at grammar and secondary schools with 463,000 marks. The sum total of the grants in that year was 1,520,000 marks. Huvudstadsbladet, February 6, 1934.

⁴One might note that the convention of the Swedish People's Party in 1910 adopted a resolution which was interpreted to favor the financial support by Swedes from then on of monolingual Swedish cultural organization rather than of the bilingual as previously. Lille, Svenska National, pp. 915-18.

but this loss has since been more than made up by new donations. The total amount of funds owned or managed by these foundations is at present in all probability over 150 million Finnmarks.

These foundations have not to any extent come into existence by popular campaigns and subscriptions but very largely through generous donations by persons and families of relatively large means. Many of the Swedish papers often insert in their columns the remainder: "Remember 'Svenska Kulturfonden' with gifts," and hardly a month passes without the announcement of some larger donations to various Swedish institutions and foundations.¹

This aspect of the Swedish nationality movement is, of course, a consequence of the important role that the generation of upper class Swedes just now passing played in the rapid development of industry and commerce a few decades ago. They made fortunes, and their allegiance to the whole Swedish nationality now finds expression in their donations. This aspect is no doubt also connected with the fact that such a large percentage of the Swedes belongs to the educated class which is interested in educational and cultural activities.

As a result of this liberality on the part of the older upper class Swedes a great deal of educational and cultural work which would otherwise be impossible can now be carried on. From that point of view the whole nationality is therefore benefitted by this generosity. But the procedure is paternalistic and entails psychological disadvantages. The Swedish masses have never yet been called upon to give for any of the many Swedish cultural institutions as the Finnish masses have repeatedly been called upon to sacrifice for Finnish cultural institutions.

¹In July, 1932, for instance, it was announced that the will of Gustaf Adolf Lundenius, who had just died, provided for the following donations: 1,600,000 marks for a new professorship at Åbo Akademi, 400,000 marks for a stipend fund for theological students at Åbo Akademi, 300,000 marks for the Friends of the Swedish Public School, 200,000 for summer colonies for Swedish school children in Helsingfors, and a number of smaller items. Finska Amerikanaren, July 28, 1932.

Also in July, 1932, it was announced that K. A. Forsbäck's will stipulated that of his fortune 200,000 marks should go to the Anti-tubercular Society, 200,000 marks to the Institution for Disabled in Helsingfors, 300,000 marks to the Swedish College of Commerce, 150,000 marks to the Swedish Institute of Commerce in Helsingfors, 300,000 marks to "Svenska kulturfonden," 400,000 marks to Åbo Akademi, and smaller sums to several other organizations. Ibid., August 2, 1932. These are typical of the larger donations.

CHAPTER IX

SWEDISH NATIONALITY CONSCIOUSNESS

The subjective side of this organization for inner strength and outer defence was a new sense and consciousness of being Swedish--nationality consciousness. This new sense of a Swedish nationality in the country had two sources: the cultural Swedishness of the gentleman and official classes (which claimed to represent the nation as a whole and called themselves politically Finns¹), and the "Folk-Swedishness" retained by the Swedish masses.² When the upper classes had lost the fight for their "cultural positions," their appeal and the Finnish pressure energized the Swedish masses. The "class" and the "reserves" recognized each other as Swedish. Their two previous ways of feeling Swedish were wedded in the consciousness of being a Swedish nationality.

The obverse of this mutual recognition was the sense of being different from the Finns. There was the obvious difference of language, the partly known differences in origin, and also other subtle and vaguely felt differences in national temperament. When R. von Rettig at the opening of the Swedish Folkting in May,

¹This usage was objected to by Snellman in one of his Saima articles, and following his contention, the Fennomen frequently insisted that these classes have no right to call themselves Finnish, so long as they speak Swedish.

²The Swedish peasantry in Ostrobothnia has never called itself anything but Swedish; to call them Finns was to offer them an insult. "And not even in Nyland, where the opinions of the ruling upper class have exerted an Alpine pressure on the common people, have the peasants, tenants, agricultural workers, and petty tradesmen surrendered their Swedish name." Mörne, På Finländsk Grund, p. 193.

Among the Swedish peasantry in southern Ostrobothnia there remained, in spite of a century of union with Russia, a vague fear of the Russians and a faint hope of reunion with Sweden. The public schools and the reading of Fänrik Stals Sägner (Runeberg) and Boken om Vårt Land (Topelius) created the beginnings of a Finlândic national consciousness (after 1890). This was later completed by the introduction of the appropriate terms Finlander and Finlândic (1913) and the independence of the country (1917). This population has always resented being called Finnish, and its Swedish aspirations became fully evident especially after the civil war (1918).

1919, characterized the struggle between Swedish and Finnish in Finland not only as a language fight but also as a conflict between two nations (nationalities) and two races,¹ he apparently expressed a conviction that was perhaps vague and varied but nevertheless widespread among the Swedes.

Contacts and group consciousness.--The typical upper class Swedes of the last century were of course conscious of a decided difference between themselves and the Finns, who were largely laborers and peasants. They also harbored the attitudes typical of a superior class. But the bulk of the Swedish population consists of independent peasants. The large majority of these seldom--in many cases never--come in contact with Finns of their own class. Their contacts have been with the immigrant Finns--the floating agricultural and lumber workers ("jätkät" in Finnish) and the landless Finnish families which became squatters in their midst and often also a burden on the community. Under such conditions a consciousness of difference inevitably arose. And the fundamental difference of language, which made intercourse and understanding difficult, became the symbol of other observed or assumed differences.

This brings us to the crucial point in this whole matter. No differences--either anatomical, psychological, economic, cultural, or even linguistic--can per se make a nationality. There must be an awareness of such difference, a recognition and evaluation of them, a "we" and "they" feeling, that is, a group consciousness. This probably develops only under specific conditions. It seems to be a fact, as Nordenstreng has pointed out, that the sense of nationality develops only under conditions of contrast and conflict with other nationalities.² Under such conditions a nationality also develops a conception of itself, a set of convictions with respect to its role in existing society, and even of a mission or destiny. And in the life of a nationality these are much more significant than any objective facts.³

¹Lille, Svenska National, p. 998.

²Rolf Nordenstreng, "Vad innebär begreppet nationalitet," Svenska Folkskolans Vänner Kalender 1930 (Helsingfors, 1930), pp. 3-16.

³Clark Wissler, Man and Culture (New York, 1923), pp. 11-12; Robert E. Park, "Behind Our Masks," Survey Graphic, May 1, 1926, p. 138.

That is apparently what happened among the Swedes in Finland in the development of the new consciousness of nationality during the first two decades of this century. The expansion and pressure of the Finnish majority seemed to threaten the very existence of the Swedish population. Under this pressure the class and the mass recognized each other as Swedes. The fundamental fact in the organization for defense and in the consciousness of being Swedish was language. Inwardly, the language made for mutual recognition, participation in a common tradition, and the creation of "we-feeling." Outwardly, it sharply differentiated them from the Finns but related them to the larger Scandinavia and especially to Sweden. The other observed or assumed differences--racial, psychological, economic--between the two nationalities gave further support to the sentiments organized around the language. As contrasted with the Finnish population, the Swedish population was conceived of as a separate nationality with "the right to live its own life," with a status within the Finlandic state equal (legally) to that of the Finns, and with the rôle of a connecting link between Finland and the other Scandinavian countries. This process was aided by the adoption of an appropriate terminology, President Wilson's doctrine of self-determination for nationalities, and the events following the independence of Finland in 1917. The conviction among the Swedes in Finland that they constitute a nationality is in itself a fact of primary importance in the whole Swedish movement.

Ideology of the Swedish Movement

Every popular movement develops a set of collective representations. These are at least to some extent the ideational counterparts of the observable phenomena. Such collective representations are also the rationalizations of historical and present conditions, they define the meaning of the movement to its followers, and they express its aspirations.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century two such ideas dominated the educated classes and the Swedish class party. First, the idea of an autonomous Finlandic political state on the basis of the constitution inherited from Sweden and confirmed by the successive Russian Emperors (Constitutionalism), vis-a-vis the Russian Empire; and second, the cultural function of the Swedish language as dominant, or at least equal with the Finnish,

in education and administration (Culturism), vis-a-vis the aggressive Finnish nationalism.

The idea of a distinct Swedish nationality in the country, to be sure, emerged with Freudenthal and his disciples, but it did not break through while the class party interests dominated. With the democratic revolution and the later events of complete political independence and the Red Revolt the idea of a distinct and separate Swedish nationality in Finland became dominant.

According to the Swedish ideology, there exists in Finland a political Finlandic nationality. This political nationality is based on common historical traditions, a common government, and geographical unity. It includes the two cultural nationalities, Swedish and Finnish, which are based primarily on language. In this respect, the Swedes maintain, Finland is like Switzerland, Belgium, or Great Britain, where the political Swiss, Belgian, or British nationality comprises two or more cultural or linguistic nationalities. In other words, Finland is politically a "state of rights" (rättsstat), a system or order of rights and relationships among differentiated individuals and groups established by law, rather than a population group organized primarily on the basis of language. Changes in this order should be brought about through legally provided means and methods. The sacredness of law and the orderly change of the established order have been highly emphasized.

Neither of the two nationalities in Finland can claim historical priority; both have existed side by side in the country since the beginning of its history, and each has done its share in the development of the country up to the present time. Each is therefore entitled to exist beside the other without being oppressed ("Rights" based on History). By inherent historical rights as well as by the recent constitutional provisions both Finnish and Swedish are national languages in the country (Legal Equality), though practical considerations naturally tend to make the language of the majority dominant in the central administration. Appointments to administrative offices should be based on merit of the candidates, without discrimination because of nationality affiliations. By right as well as by constitutional provision the state should aid or support the cultural and educational institutions of both nationalities in accordance with identical principles. The minority nationality should enjoy (as also the

majority may if it wishes) as extensive a cultural autonomy as is compatible with the unity of the political state.

The Swedish language is the connecting link between Finland and Scandinavia. As that language in the past was the instrument through which Finland became part of the western, and especially Scandinavian, culture area, so the status of Swedish as a national language in Finland and the knowledge thereof also by the educated Finns makes Finland a functioning part of the Scandinavian North.

New Terms and Symbols

While organizations and activities were being developed and a new consciousness of nationality arose, corresponding ideological changes also took place. To express these changes new terms came into use. Foremost perhaps was the introduction and general acceptance of the terms Finlander and Finlandic to designate citizenship or political nationality.

The propriety of these terms was first pointed out by Sohlman in 1855, emphasized again by Freudenthal at the beginning of the sixties, and they were actually used by the paper Folkvännan and defended by the paper Östra Nyland at the beginning of the eighties.¹ But these terms were always refused by the educated Swedish classes so long as they claimed to belong to and represent the country and nation as a whole. They were Finns--politically.

The use of the terms Finn and Finnish to designate political nationality had lent itself admirably to Fennomen propaganda. "How many proselytes have not the Fennomen made among the Swedish youth," says Lille, "with the logic: 'We are Finns, therefore we must speak Finnish.'"² And now as the new consciousness of being Swedish was widened and intensified, the impropriety of using the terms Finn and Finnish as political terms to include both Finns and Swedes was increasingly felt. And beside being inappropriate to the new conditions, the use of the terms had tended to dull the sense of nationality, and had brought no end of confusion into the thinking in the Scandinavian countries about the nationality

¹Lille, Svenska National, pp. 48, 410-11.

²Ibid., p. 48. The complete syllogism, repeated in many variations, runs thus: "We are Finns, the language of the Finns is Finnish, therefore we must speak Finnish." It was also reversed frequently and the claim made that they were not Finns, unless they spoke Finnish.

conditions in Finland.¹ A clarification, it was felt, had to be made.

The matter was being discussed especially among the students, and the new Swedish student paper Studentbladet proposed the adoption of the terms Finlander (finlänning or finländare) and Finlandic (finländsk) as designations for the common political nationality. This proposal was also seconded and recommended as being both linguistically correct and generally desirable by several of the prominent Swedish professors at the university. Finally, in April, 1913, a general meeting of the Swedish university students adopted the following resolution for publication in the Swedish papers:

Finland's Swedish students, who for their own part have decided to use the terms Finlander and Finlandic instead of Finn and Finnish as political designations for all citizens of Finland, irrespective of language and nationality, hereby urge Finland's Swedish newspaper men to join in this reform, in order that the public may thereby be influenced and the change gain the widest possible acceptance.²

¹Svenskt i Finland (Helsingfors: Söderström, 1914), p.152. In the Scandinavian countries, and especially in Sweden, all the inhabitants of Finland were called Finns in both literature and Press, and anything pertaining to the country was called Finnish. Even Runeberg and Topelius were called Finnish writers, and there was until very recently no consciousness of a real Swedish population in Finland. In popular usage in Sweden along the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, the Finland-Swedes were called Finns and the real Finns were called Purfinns. Arvid Mörne, På Finländsk Grund (Helsingfors: Söderström, 1927), pp. 183-88.

²Svenskt i Finland, p. 151. Mörne reports the reception of this resolution as follows: "The next morning there was a shower of derision and ridicule in the Finnish papers in Helsingfors. One paper advised the students to go home to their dads and get a well-deserved spanking for their foolish escapade. But stern and threatening words were also said. Not to call oneself a Finn, that was not only absurd, it was also unpatriotic. And since that day, finlantäri has been constantly repeated in the Finnish Press as a by-word to remind the readers of the unpatriotic turn of mind of the Swedes." Mörne, På Finländsk Grund, p.227.

The accusation has also been repeated very frequently in the Finnish papers, that the whole thing is a matter of pride, and that the Swedes through this terminology wished to achieve a separation and to avoid being designated by the supposedly inferior term Finn. The matter is thus presented also by Henning Söderhjelm, Enkla Betraktelser (Helsingfors, 1919), pp. 143-44.

The Swedish point of view may, on the other hand, be further elucidated: "The word (Finlander) is so far from implying a Swedish separation that it, on the contrary, intends inclusion. . . . What the word Finn has severed, the word Finlander seeks to unite. It emphasizes the common foundation on which Swedish and Finnish may unite in the country called Finland, but which since

The newspapers hesitated, but the representatives of the Swedish Young People's Societies, who were assembled to a convention in the city of Åbo the following July, decided to adopt the reform. The Swedish newspapers in Finland then gradually adopted the new terminology. A decade later the All-Swedish propaganda in Sweden gradually also secured at least a partial adoption of the new terms by the Press in the Scandinavian countries. And finally the terms appeared in the Swedish school readers and textbooks in Finland.¹

Other terms of similar significance also appeared at this time. They reflect the new nationality consciousness as well as indicate a reorientation vis-a-vis both Finland and Sweden. The two terms finlands-svenskar (Finland-Swedes) and östsvenskar² (East-Swedes) came into use between 1915 and 1920--both indicating

pagan times is equally the land of the Swedish and Finnish Finlanders. . . . The new term was intended to show that we for the future as well as the past belong to Finland. . . . The word (Finnlander) allows a place in the political state also for the Swedes in the country; and it is this that they are (now) denied. The desire (of the Finns) is to build up not a political state based on 'rights,' but a Finnish national state. And with a better appreciation of symbols than of reality, they seek to kill a term, as if that would do away with the reality itself." B. Estlander, Finne och Finländare (Helsingfors, 1926), pp. 4, 8, 10.

¹In May, 1926, the Ministry of Education rendered a decree to the national Board of Education to the effect that textbooks using the terms Finlander and Finlandic could not be used in any of the state schools or in private schools aided by the state, except that the books already in stock might be used up before the decree was to take effect.

This was an attempt to enforce the usage in Swedish of a mode of expression which was getting obsolete and which was not employed even in Finnish. The point may be illustrated by the phrase "The State of Finland." The only linguistically correct corresponding expression in Swedish is Finländska staten; in Finnish it is Suomen valtio (Finland's State). But according to the decree it must be in Swedish Finska staten, which in Finnish would be Suomalainen valtio--an expression simply not used.

Officially and legally the Swedes in Finland are still Finns and Finnish, although they designate themselves as Swedes or Finlanders, as the particular occasion may require, and although it has been frequently declared from the Finnish side (as previously indicated) that they have no right to call themselves Finns, so long as they speak Swedish.

²During 1917 and up to the Red Revolt in 1918 a group of the younger Swedish intellectuals in Helsingfors published a magazine entitled Östsvensk Tidskrift. Its contents consisted largely of articles discussing the theoretical and practical problems of the Swedish nationality. At this time, the expression East-Swedes ("Itäruotsalaiset" in Finnish) became a by-word in the Finnish press for similar purposes as the previous "Finlantäri."

a reorientation, the former perhaps with the accent still on Finland, the second with the emphasis apparently on the larger Sweden. The latter term did not gain general acceptance and become part of the language, but the term finlandssvenskar is now universally used in the Swedish Press and literature in Finland as a correlative of the terms rikssvenskar, the Swedes in Sweden. The term Svenskfinland (or the variation Svensk-Finland) also appeared and gained general acceptance at this time to designate the Swedish provinces of Finland as a unit--the Swedish Finland.

New symbols to express the new nationality consciousness were also appointed. A suggestion was made in 1907 that November 6, the day of Gustavus Adolphus' death at the battle of Lützen, should be appointed a special Swedish Day. The party convention acted favorably on this proposal, and on November 6, 1908, the first Swedish Day was celebrated with a great deal of enthusiasm by Swedes everywhere in the country.¹ The symbolic value of the Swedish Day with its emblem carried by the Swedes, the flags, and the popular festivities by practically all Swedish cultural organizations is clearly recognized.² The first All-Swedish convention held in Gothenburg in 1923 decided to adopt November 6 as the national Swedish Day to be celebrated by Swedes everywhere in the world.³

During the struggle against Russianization, the red and yellow "lion-flag," inherited from the Swedish times, became a distinctive Finlandic symbol. Under these colors the Whites also

¹In many places the day was celebrated with special services in the churches as well as with other festivities. "The day perhaps got its most solemn character in Åbo where, in addition to public banquets and services in the cathedral, a torchlight procession was arranged which paid tribute to the memory of Per Brahe (the founder of Åbo Akademi in 1640) at his statue, and in which about five thousand Swedes of all social classes participated." Rafael Colliander, Svenska Folkpartiet i Finland 1906-1926 (Helsingfors, 1926), p. 22.

²The Swedish Day was celebrated with the characteristic festivities in Helsingfors in 1933. The Swedish emblem was sold as usual for the day. The Aito-Finnish League, however, instituted the sale of Finnish emblems to counteract the Swedish activities. The sequels were both organized and spontaneous attacks on persons wearing Swedish emblems by Finnish university and high school students as well as by other adolescent gangs. The police had to handle incipient riots during three consecutive evenings. Svenska Pressen, November 7, 8, 9, 1933.

³Colliander, Svenska Folkpartiet, p. 22.

fought the Russian and Finlandic Reds in 1918. Shortly afterwards, however, the Finnish majority in the Lantdag decided (against the Swedish votes) that the colors of the country should be white and blue (from the white and blue of sky and lakes, an idea suggested in a romantic poem "Finland's Flag" by Topellius half a century earlier). Red and yellow then became the distinctive colors of the Swedish nationality.

Of still greater importance both symbolically and sentimentally was Modersmålets sång--a hymn to the Swedish mother tongue and the Swedish song. It came into general use with the Swedish revival and it has been to the Swedish nationality movement what Runeberg's Our Country was to the rising Finlandic patriotism more than half a century earlier. Now Swedish popular meetings and programs were opened as before with Runeberg's hymn to the country, but now they came to be almost invariably closed with Hagfors' hymn to the Swedish mother tongue. It carries a strong mystic and sentimental appeal, and evokes a devotion to the whole Swedish heritage.¹

¹As a tribute to J. F. Hagfors, the author of the hymn, on his seventieth birthday, May 11, 1927, Allsvensk Samling reprinted the hymn and made the following comments: "There is probably no place on earth where Swedes gather and Swedish is being sung where this glorious homage to the mother tongue is not sung. To the struggling Swedes in Finland it has become 'A mighty fortress is our God' for everything Swedish. From its homeland it has spread over the whole Swedish world. It is sung everywhere in Sweden. To the Swedes in Esthonia it has become a national hymn. In the Swedish settlements in America it is now heard on festive occasions. At the Swedish gatherings in Australia it is also sung. No other song has like this one been able to gather the Swedes around one of their dearest treasures, their mother tongue. . . . What this song has meant and means to the Swedes in Finland, one can know only by having heard them sing it over there, seen poor and rich, young and old, rise and bare their heads at the strains of that song. . . ."

No poetically adequate translation of the hymn still exists in English--so far as the writer knows. The Swedish words follow with a literal translation line for line.

Modersmålets sång

Hur härligt sången klingar
på älskat modersmål!
Han tröst i sorgen bringar,
han skärper sinnets stål!
Vi hört den sången ljuda
i ljuvlig barndomstid,
och engång skall han bjuda
åt oss i graven frid!

The Song of the Mother Tongue

How gloriously the song is ringing
in beloved mother tongue.
It brings solace in sorrow,
it sharpens the mind's steel.
We've heard the song sounding
in the sweet days of childhood,
and some day it will offer
us peace in the grave.

Du sköna sång, vart bästa arv, från tidevarv till tidevarv, ljud högt, ljud fritt från strand till strand i tusen sjöars land.	O glorious song, our best heritage, from age to age, sound high, sound free from shore to shore in the land of thousand lakes.
Vad ädelt fädren tänkte, vad skönt de drömt engång, det allt de åt oss skänkte i modersmålets sång. Hur våra öden randas, den sången är oss kär; vår själ i honom andas, vår rikedom han är.	Whatever nobly our fathers thought, what beautifully they once dreamt, they gave it all to us in song in the mother tongue. No matter what fate may offer, that song will be dear to us; our soul is breathing in it, our wealth it (also) is.
Du sköna sång, vårt bästa arv, från tidevarv till tidevarv, ljud högt, ljud fritt från strand till strand i tusen sjöars land.	O glorious song, our best heritage, from age to age, sound high, sound free from shore to shore in the land of thousand lakes.

For the last line, "i tusen sjöars land," the variation "i älskat fosterland" (in beloved Fatherland) is also used, especially outside of Finland.

CHAPTER X

THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND AUTONOMY¹

The Struggle for Åland

The sense of solidarity that had gradually come to characterize the Swedish nationality in Finland was roughly shaken in 1917-1919 by the "separatism" of Åland, the most purely Swedish province of Finland. In the summer of 1917, a meeting representing all the communes of Åland passed a resolution demanding a re-union with Sweden. And early in 1918, a deputation from Åland brought to the King of Sweden an address signed by 7,135 Ålanders (about one-third of the total population) expressing the hope "that the government of Sweden might find a way of solving in coöperation with a free and independent Finland the difficulties that might be entailed in the realization of the dearest wishes of the Ålanders for a re-union with Sweden."² In March the same year, an address was sent to the governments of Finland, Germany, and Sweden again demanding that Åland on the principle of self-determination should be allowed to re-unite with Sweden. And finally, in January, 1919, the Landsting (provincial convention) of Åland sent a deputation to the Peace Conference in Paris to deliver a memorandum demanding a plebiscite for Åland.³

The government of Sweden supported the claims of the Ålanders, while the government of Finland strenuously opposed the same. The arguments of the latter were, that Åland both historically and geographically was a part of Finland, and that the principle of self-determination could not apply to the Ålanders since they were only a small part of the whole Swedish speaking population in the country. The whole matter was finally settled by the League of Nations in accordance with the recommendations of a committee that had visited Åland as well as Sweden and Finland for conferences with all the interested parties. Åland was to remain politically a part of Finland but with a legislature of its own and a wide autonomy under the guarantee of the League of Nations.⁴

Just how much the attitude of the rest of the Swedes in Finland influenced the committee and its report is of course dif-

¹Sections from Chapter X of dissertation.

²Lille, Svenska National, p. 973.

³Ibid., p. 974.

⁴Schybergson, Finlands Politiska Historia, p. 424.

ficult to say; but it can be stated definitely that the report very largely conformed to the principles for which the Swedish leaders had made themselves the spokesmen. The "separatism" of Åland really put the Swedes on the mainland of Finland in a very difficult position. If the geographical position of all the Swedish provinces had been such as to permit a separation from Finland and a re-union with Sweden, the probability is, that the whole Swedish nationality in Finland would have made common cause with the Ålanders. But the stubborn facts of geography did not permit such a political arrangement, and though the Swedes on the mainland of Finland in general sympathized with the Ålanders in their desire for a re-union with Sweden, their leaders now had to make themselves the spokesmen for the claims of the government of Finland, in order that the already relatively small Swedish nationality in the country should not be further decreased by the loss of Åland.¹

The attitudes of the Swedes in Finland with reference to Åland and their aspirations for cultural and administrative autonomy for the whole Swedish nationality in the country found definite expression in an appeal which the governing board of the Swedish People's Party addressed to the population of Åland on November 20, 1918.

Important decisions are soon to be made with reference to the future conditions of the different nationalities in Europe. The vital questions of the Swedes in Finland must also in one way or another be touched by these. That fact gives us, the representatives of the Swedish people in Finland, the occasion to turn to the population of Åland with a brief presentation of the present position of our Swedish nationality question and the points of view which it seems to us must prevail with reference to the future of our nationality and our country.

The Swedish population in Finland amounts to nearly 400,000 persons. There are scattered groups in all the cities, but the main part and core consists of a Swedish peasant population, living in continuous belts along the coasts of Finland. In Nyland, there live on the countryside 100,000, and in the cities 70,000; in the south-western archipelago and littoral 25,000, and in the cities 15,000; in the province of Åland 25,000; on the countryside in Ostrobothnia 90,000, and in the cities 20,000 persons.²

¹Colliander, Svenska Folkpartiet, pp. 58-60, 69-70.

²These figures include not only the "present" population but also the "absent" (emigrant), and perhaps a "wished" population, besides. The census gave about 340,000 "present" Swedes in Finland in 1920.

During a couple of generations this population has been awakening to a consciousness of national unity. At the present moment it feels itself to constitute a nationality, with demands that its character shall be allowed free development in our country, where it has pioneered since time immemorial and striven to fortify the sanctity of law and to further the progress of social life and civilization.

These national demands are briefly as follows: That its Swedish language be recognized as a national language beside the Finnish; that its educational needs be considered by the state on the same basis as those of the Finnish population; that separate administrative districts (län) be organized of the Swedish part of Nyland, south-western Finland, and Ostrobothnia, as has already been done in the case of Åland; that the Swedish districts be allowed to organize for self-government with a wide autonomy, but without breaking the unity of the state, as such a development of local self-government is now being considered for the country as a whole; that the Swedish parishes be organized into a Swedish diocese; that a separate administration for the Swedish schools be introduced; and that the Swedish recruits be allowed to perform their military service in army units where the language is Swedish.

The Swedish population in Finland expects that its national demands will be favorably met by the popular representatives and the government of our country and that the autonomous position which it is claiming will be conceded to agree with the principles which are now generally proclaimed as the guiding ideas for the future arrangements of the common life of humanity. This population sees in the political independence of our country, its unity and strength, a precious patriotic interest. For its own security and future in the country it demands that the rights to a free national development be realized for the whole Swedish nationality in Finland, in accordance with the principles already given. It is confident that the realization of such an autonomy for the Swedish Finland will lessen the causes of dissension between the Finnish and Swedish populations in Finland. The Swedish nationality in Finland conceives of itself as a unity. For this reason we hold, that the principle of nationality, the self-determination of peoples, should apply not to one part only of the Swedes in Finland, but that the same right should be granted to all. The Swedish nationality in Finland regards the question of the Swedish population on Åland as part of the whole Swedish nationality question in Finland. It demands for the population on Åland the same rights that it demands for the whole Swedish population in our country. We are deeply concerned about the Swedishness of Åland, but equally also about that of the Nylanders, the Åbolanders, and the Ostrobothnians. The national future of all will be safeguarded to the extent that the common endeavors of the Finland-Swedes gain recognition and success. But if the Swedish nationality in Finland is crippled and weakened at the very moment it is being united and finding itself, then the difficulties and dangers will multiply for that part which remains within the boundaries of Finland.

Much has been neglected in taking care of the rights of the Swedish population in Finland and especially the interests of Åland. But we are convinced that great possibilities exist for forceful and conscious action to secure for the Swedish

nationality right to its own life. We shall act, according to our best abilities, so as to bring our claims to recognition and realization. The peculiar situation of Åland requires, that the autonomy which is claimed for all the Swedish districts, should to an unusual degree be applied to Åland in both administration and military service. The population of Åland shall have no reason to complain of lack of support by the other parts of the Swedish population in the country in the defense of the national, cultural, and economic interests of Åland.

We have wished to send this greeting at the present moment to the population of Åland. If we can agree to act in concert, the work for a safe and happy future for Swedish Finland and its different provinces can be carried on with greater confidence and hope than ever before.¹

The Swedish Folkting and the Struggle for Autonomy

The Swedish nationality movement in Finland probably reached its climax with the convening of the national convention called Svenska Finlands Folkting in May, 1919. The purpose of this convention was to formulate and definitely express the wishes of the whole Swedish nationality for such a degree of cultural and administrative autonomy as the general conditions would make possible.

There were a number of factors that seem to have determined this new stage or phase of the movement. The independence of Finland was an accomplished fact, and it was felt that the relations between the two languages and nationalities must be formalized in some way; the Red Revolt had alienated the Swedish masses from the Finns and forced the idea upon them that they must order their own conditions of life within their own provinces; the new doctrine of the self-determination of national groups had recently been flung abroad, and the Åland question had precipitated and crystalized the idea of an autonomous Swedish Finland. This question had also put the government definitely on the defensive, and the time seemed opportune for achieving through the process of some fundamental legislation such a formulation of the relationships between the two nationalities that the Swedes would be more or less permanently protected against the nationalistic tendencies of the Finnish majority.

There was at this time more restlessness and agitation among the whole Swedish population than there had been at any pre-

¹Lille, Svenska National, pp. 988-91.

vious period. The effects of the ridicule to which the Swedish Ostrobothnians had been subjected in the (White) army, on the part of the Finns, because they did not understand and speak Finnish had taken hold of the Swedish masses and they were now determined to be nothing but Swedes and to organize their own affairs.¹ A provincial convention (Landsting) was held in Vasa for the province of Ostrobothnia in the summer of 1918, and such followed later in Helsingfors and Åbo for the provinces of Nyland and Åboland respectively. In these conventions the demands for limited self-government for the Swedish provinces and for the formation of special Swedish army units were formulated and presented to the government. There were even hints about a complete separation, such as the Ålanders were demanding. The uncertainty in regard to the treatment of these questions by the government and the Riksdag led to a great deal of spontaneous activity.²

Matters came to a head on February 11, 1919, when the Finnish majority in the Riksdag voted down almost in toto the propositions presented by the government for the regulation of the use and of the status of the two languages in the administration. A conference of the Swedish representatives in the Riksdag and the party leaders took place immediately, an extra party convention which followed the next month decided to issue a call for the election of representatives to a national convention that would be empowered to deliberate and act in the name of the whole Swedish nationality. This call reads as follows:

That self-determination which was the just basis of our liberation from the Russian oppression belongs equally to the two nationalities in Finland. By its decision of February 11, the Finnish majority in the Lantdag has clearly indicated that the Finnish nationality has refused to acknowledge the right of the Swedish nationality to a national life in accordance with its own clearly expressed will. In consequence of this violation of the whole basis of right on which our political freedom is resting, the convention of the Swedish People's Party is issuing this call to all Swedes in the country.

Swedes in Finland! Proceed everyone to elect a Swedish representation, a Swedish Folkting, to be convened in May in Helsingfors to decide in the name of the Swedish nationality on the measures which are required to guarantee self-determination to the Swedish nationality in Finland.

For the election to the Lantdag, let our watch-word be, "Swedish strength--Finland's welfare." But for the election

¹Mörne, På Finländsk Grund, pp. 225-26.

²Colliander, Svenska Folkpartiet, pp. 56-57; Lille, Svenska National, pp. 976-80.

to the Swedish Folkting, let it be, "Swedish freedom--the welfare of the 'Fosterland.'"¹

The election was carried out with general and high enthusiasm. About 110,000 persons of at least twenty-four years of age participated. This was a considerably larger vote than had previously been cast for the Swedish People's Party on the mainland at any election for the Lantdag. The Ålanders, due to their "separatism" at this time, did not participate in the election and were not represented in the Swedish Folkting (of sixty members) which convened in Helsingfors on May 19, 1919.²

The political-national program as finally formulated by the Folkting included the following points.

1. That the Swedish language be acknowledged as a national language on an equal footing with Finnish in legislation, the courts of justice, education, the Church, and the army.

2. Cultural self-determination in religion and education, with a separate Swedish diocese and a separate department of education.

3. Swedish army units, serving in times of peace in Swedish areas.

4. The formation of mono-lingual administrative districts, such as communes, parishes, counties, judicial districts, etc.

5. "Self-administration" by the three Swedish districts or provinces of Österbotten, Nyland, and Åboland--as part of a general decentralizing reform of the whole administration of the country.

6. The organization of the Swedish provinces into an autonomous unit called "Svenskfinland."

7. The enactment of a fundamental law, a "magna charta," covering all the preceding nationality questions--a law which could not be changed or voided by the government.

8. A permanent Folkting for the whole Swedish nationality with a representative at large in the ministry.³

During the next three years, the Folkting rather than the Swedish representatives in the Riksdag⁴ was the authoritative mouthpiece of the Swedish nationality. Its prestige became great enough to force the government to take a conciliatory attitude towards the Swedish demands. Such an attitude on the part of the government was further prompted by the fact that it was anxious to get the Åland question settled as favorably and with as little

¹Lille, Svenska National, p.995. ²Ibid., pp. 996-99.

³Wikman, Det Svenska Finland, III, 349-50.

⁴In the new constitution the traditional term Lantdag for the legislature was changed to the more dignified Riksdag.

foreign interference as possible and the other Swedish nationality questions without any such interference at all.

This struggle for constitutional guarantees and administrative autonomy also led to some results. The new constitution which was being worked out at this time and which was ratified and went into effect July 17, 1919, contains the following important nationality and language provisions:¹

Article 14

Finnish and Swedish shall be the national languages of the Republic.

The right of Finnish citizens to use their mother tongue, whether Finnish or Swedish, before the courts and the administrative authorities, and to obtain from them documents in such language, shall be guaranteed by law, so as to safeguard the rights of the Finnish population and the rights of the Swedish population of the country in accordance with identical principles.

The State shall provide for the intellectual and economic needs of the Finnish and Swedish populations in accordance with identical principles.

Article 22

Laws and ordinances as well as proposed laws presented by the Government to the Diet, and the replies, representations, and other documents addressed by the Diet to the Government shall be drawn up in the Finnish and Swedish languages.

Article 50

For the purposes of general administration, Finland shall remain divided into provinces, shires and communes.

In the case of new delimitations of administrative districts, the new districts, wherever circumstances permit, shall be so formed as to include populations speaking only one language, Finnish or Swedish, or so that the minority speaking the other language shall be as small as possible.

Article 75

Every conscript, unless he otherwise desires, shall if possible be enrolled in a military unit the members of which speak his own mother tongue (Finnish or Swedish), and shall in such unit receive his instruction in that language. Finnish shall be the language of command of the armed forces.

These general constitutional provisions required consequent specific legislation to put them into effect. In 1920, the Riksdag passed such a specific language law over the votes of the Swedish representatives. The President also signed it against the advice of the Supreme Court and the vigorous protests in the form of meetings and resolutions in the Swedish communities,² but with the

¹Form of Government of Finland, given at Helsingfors, July 17, 1919 (Helsingfors, 1924).

²Colliander, Svenska Folkpartiet, pp. 71-72. Especially imposing was the demonstration in Helsingfors, in which about 30,000 persons participated.

suggestion that the law be improved at the next session of the Riksdag by certain amendments. This was also done in 1922, and the law as it now stands may be regarded as a compromise between the Swedish and Finnish interests.

Through this language law as amended the country was divided into mono-lingual and bi-lingual administrative districts. Any district containing only mono-lingual communes is mono-lingual; all others are bi-lingual. But even in mono-lingual districts a citizen using the other language will be served in his own language (through translations) by the courts and the "län"-administration (an administrative unit half-way between the American county and state). In all bi-lingual districts and by all bureaus and offices of the central government the citizen is to be served in his own language. The local communes are divided into several classes.

1. Mono-lingual Swedish, in which the Finnish minority constitutes less than ten per cent of the total population. In this class are 47 communes.

2. Bi-lingual Swedish, with at least two-thirds of the population Swedish. To this class belong 29 communes.

3. Bi-lingual Swedish, with more than half but less than two-thirds of the population Swedish. Only 7 communes.

4. Bi-lingual Finnish, with more than half but less than two-thirds of the population Finnish. Only 6 communes.

5. Bi-lingual Finnish, with at least two-thirds of the population Finnish. Only 6 communes.

6. Mono-lingual Finnish, in which the Swedish minority is less than ten per cent of the population. To this class belong of course the great majority of the communes.

In the mono-lingual communes there is only one official language, either Finnish or Swedish, but in the bi-lingual communes the minority language has a certain regulated status, more or less prominent according to the size of the minority. The language law, besides, covers the uses of the two languages in the different branches of the administration, the language knowledge required of officials, and such other legal details as bi-lingualism in a country naturally requires.¹

Certain other gains were also made along the lines indicated by the nationality program accepted by the Folkting. A semi-independent Swedish bureau was organized in the national

¹Ernst von Born, Den nuvarande språklagstiftningen i Finland (Helsingfors, 1924).

Board of Education in 1920.¹ The demand for separate Swedish army units to be trained within the Swedish district was also conceded and such units organized, but only after a strike by the Swedish recruits in Ostrobothnia had become imminent.² And finally--after a long contest--a Swedish diocese, comprising all the Swedish Lutheran parishes and congregations, was organized in 1923.³

The demands for separate autonomous administrative provinces and their organization into an autonomous Svenskfinland could not be carried to realization. With the gains recorded above already achieved, the Swedish agitation gradually subsided, and the Folkting was discontinued. Two factors, beside the Finnish opposition, seems to have made the realization of the proposed autonomous provinces very difficult: first, the presence of Finnish majorities in the capital cities (Helsingfors, Åbo, and Vasa) of the proposed provinces and large Finnish minorities in the other cities included, and second, the fact that the proposed provinces are not, like the Swiss cantons, natural geographic and economic areas but more or less artificial delimitations determined by the present language boundaries.

The struggle had netted the constitutional retention of Swedish as a "national language," the passing of language laws making Swedish the primary language in the administration of the Swedish districts and the secondary language in the general administration, a special autonomy with the guarantee of its Swedish language for Åland, and a limited cultural autonomy for the whole Swedish nationality.

After these positive achievements in the early twenties the overt struggle of the Swedish nationality has largely been in the nature of a defense of the rights and status guaranteed to the Swedish language and population by the constitution and the language laws. The Aito-Finnish movement arose as a threat almost at once and seems to have been gathering momentum up to the present time.

¹Finlands Svenskar, p. 52.

²Colliander, Svenska Folkpartiet, p. 71.

³Ibid., pp. 76-77.

CHAPTER XI

SIGNIFICANT TRENDS

In Retrospect

The Swedish nationality movement in Finland emerged during the sixties and seventies of the last century among the students of the province of Nyland at the university. Its prophet and leader was Freudenthal. It was a reaction against the aims of the Finnish nationality movement which got under way some decades earlier. But both movements had as a central point the doctrine that language is the essence of nationality.

The early attempts of the Nyland students to arouse the Swedish masses were not carried through, and in the early eighties the Swedish movement was converted into a class party. This consisted to a large extent of the officialdom and the upper bourgeoisie in the cities. The purpose and function of this party was primarily to defend the cultural positions--the status and function of the Swedish language in education, administration, and public life--and the political status and influence of this class as a whole. In a sense, the language fight during the eighties and nineties also was a conflict between the Swedish class and the Finnish mass.

With the foundations of the class party cut away by the democratic revolution, the Swedish leaders turned to the Swedish masses, and the renaissance or revival of the whole Swedish nationality took place during the first and second decades of the present century. The fight of the Swedish class for the status of its language and cultural heritage became the struggle of the whole Swedish nationality for its existence. As outstanding leaders should be mentioned the editor Axel Lille and the author Arvid Mörne.

The new nationality movement operated through numerous popular cultural organizations and activities, through separate Swedish organizations of a vocational and professional nature, through a new democratized political party, and through organizations of an economic nature, especially for the defense of the

Swedish soil, and for racial hygiene. The results of the re-birth of the Swedish nationality is further evidenced in the raised cultural level of the Swedish masses, in the cultural and educational institutions that have been developed to serve its needs, and in the foundations that have come into existence to promote and support all such activities.

Concomitantly, the consciousness of being Swedish, in contrast with and opposition to being Finnish, was being clarified. This nationality consciousness was based primarily on language, though racial, psychological, economic, and traditional factors also played a part. It found expression and support in an appropriate ideology, in new terms and symbols of significance to the nationality, and in a new literature similarly oriented. Consensus and solidarity were thus achieved.

The overt struggle of the Swedish nationality, thus organized internally, then centered upon the achievement of a constitutionally and legally guaranteed cultural autonomy of the Swedish provinces and nationality within the politically independent Finlandic state. In this struggle the Swedish Folkting played a decisive role for a few years. Such an autonomy was considered necessary for national survival. The arrangement was one of accommodation, purporting to safeguard the interests of the minority and permitting the free development of the cultural genius of both nationalities. With such an autonomy partly achieved, the last phase to date of the overt struggle of the Swedish nationality has been the defense of the constitutional status of the Swedish language as the second national language of the country.

It may further be noted that since the Swedish language and also an important part of the Swedish nationality originally occupied a superior status, both legally and functionally, and since the nationality is a relatively small minority in the country, the struggle has constantly been one of defense against actual or threatening consequences of the Finnish nationality movement. Likewise, and for the same reasons, there has been a strong emphasis on the respect for law and on the validity of legal processes and arrangements.

Finnization

While the Swedish nationality movement was thus progressing, a Finnization of public life was also going on in Finland.

The process has been especially rapid during the last three decades. Dr. Ingman, one of the Old Finnish leaders, testified to the newspaper public in Sweden in 1926 that the Finnization of the political and civil administration, of business, of art and sciences, had proceeded at a rapid rate; and Dr. Ryömä, one of the Finnish Socialist leaders likewise stated that the progress of Finnishness to its rightful and dominant place in the affairs of the country had been as rapid as could be desired. "The development is so inevitable that it can neither be prevented by any artificial means, nor needs to be forced by any nationalistic mobilization of power."¹

And Dr. Virkkunen, another prominent Finnish leader, addressing the same public in 1933, in an attempt to explain and justify the Aito-Finnish movement, is reported to have written that the reason for the decreasing and soon non-existent knowledge of Swedish among the Finns is found in the fact that the need for it is rapidly passing. Public life has in all its aspects been Finnized; the Swedish language has lost its status as a national language in the administration; the "natural development" cannot be stopped, and the attempts of the Swedish leaders to stop it is simply to misuse energy. To this the reporting editorial in Svenska Pressen adds:

Much depends on what we mean by "natural development." Dr. Virkkunen seems to think that it comes best in the form of an arbitrary fait accompli. When Finnish officials neglect the knowledge of Swedish required to serve the Swedish population, when Swedes are forced out of the higher administration through a systematic appointment policy, and when the re-growth is prevented already in the lowest offices, then, it is claimed, a "natural development" has taken place, then Swedish is no longer needed, and then the Finnish students need no longer know Swedish.²

This method of Finnization through legal or administrative arbitrary fait accompli is of course the method so ardently advocated by the Aito-Finns. And that it has already been partially used, as outlined in the quotation above, in the relatively rapid Finnization of the central administration, can hardly be doubted. The same thing also seems to have happened in the army, where the percentage of Swedish officers was disproportionally high after

¹Den Åktfinska rörelsen (Stockholm, 1926), p. 9.

²July 19, 1933.

the Red Revolt.¹ Of a similar nature is also the complete Finnization of such educational institutions as the Technical University in Helsingfors and the Military Academy for the education of army officers.

This tendency is also apparent in the field of official names. A systematic attempt has been made to Finnicize place names--even those of long historical standing and international usage--and to secure the general acceptance of the Finnish names (old or new) by official usage.² Even local names in the Swedish provinces, which since times immemorial have been used by both Swedes and Finns, have recently received Finnish counterparts, generally in the form of translations or corruptions of the original names. The management of the state railways has officiated or stood god-father at the rechristening of many formerly mononymic Swedish localities.³

Another type of Finnization is favored by the founding of Finnish public schools in Swedish communities with small Finnish minorities. In most cases, some outside Finnish organization has first started a private school, often with some state aid. When the number of children has reached the minimum required by law (in some cases admittedly by the importation of some large Finnish families), the commune must take over the school and provide adequate facilities for the same. Such a school will naturally prevent the assimilation of the Finnish minority and will also tend to promote further immigration of Finns.⁴

¹R. A. Wrede, Språkstadgandena i regeringsformen (Helsingfors, 1925), pp. 12-13.

²Here may be mentioned Helsinki for Helsingfors, Viipuri for Viborg, Turku (from the Swedish "torg" and the old Russian "torghu," meaning market place) for Åbo, Suomenlinna for Sveaborg, and Suomi for Finland.

³For instance on the Borgå line, the old Swedish names Storång, Hax, Borgby, Martis, Hertsby, and Byman have been translated into Isoniitty, Haksi, Linnupelto, Martti, Herralamäki, and Pyymaa, respectively.

⁴In the summer of 1931, when the Finnish students were gathering names for the Aito-Finnish address, some of them also undertook another mission. They visited some of the Swedish communes with small Finnish minorities and then sent to the Finnish papers highly colored reports of the "oppressed" condition of these minorities, especially with respect to facilities for the education of their children in Finnish. These reports received wide publicity and even caused an interpellation in the Riksdag. So far as impartial investigations were later made by mixed com-

These schools have also been augmented considerably by some recent legislation. In April, 1931, the Riksdag passed an act to the effect that when the number of children of school age of the language minority in a commune reaches twenty (instead of thirty, as previously), the commune must, irrespective of the wishes of the parent and the geographical distribution of the children, build and keep up a school for the minority. This act was passed at a time when the government was otherwise attempting to effect economies in the educational system because of the depression. If one further considers the fact that such minorities existed to any extent only in the Swedish communes, the intent of the act becomes quite evident. The appropriations for state aid to such schools have also been increased considerably at a time when other educational appropriations were being reduced.¹ In some instances the superintendents of schools have also undertaken

mittees of Finns and Swedes, the reports proved to be grossly exaggerated or entirely false. Svenska Pressen, September 31, October 9, 15, 17, December 5, 12, 1931. Cf. K. J. Hagfors, Finska barns skolgång i svenska kommuner (Helsingfors, 1932).

Many of the private Finnish schools have of course been justified from the point of view of prevailing law and the number of Finnish children involved. That, however, cannot be said about others. According to newspaper accounts, a private Finnish school was started in Nedervetil Swedish commune in the fall of 1930 on rented premises and in charge of a competent teacher. The maximum number of pupils attained was, however, only fifteen, in spite of the fact that 500 marks in addition to help with board and clothes was offered to parents for each child sent to the school, and of these pupils only three belonged in the commune. All the others were outsiders. To support the school money was collected in the Finnish communes for the "suffering" Finns in Nedervetil. The Finnish newspaper Keski Pohjanmaa in an article entitled "Amazing Insolence" (Hämmästyttävä järkeuttä, in Finnish) described how the Finns in Nedervetil were persecuted and forced to keep their children out of the Finnish school. Finally, the Finns in Nedervetil drew up and published a resolution, dated February 24, 1931, in which they stated that they opposed the Finnish school, not because of the language but because of the cost involved for the commune; that the whole trouble was the work of outside agitators; and that they had always been well treated by the people (Swedes) of the commune. The school received some state aid during the school year 1930-1931, but was denied such aid the following year on the ground that the figures presented about the pupils during the previous year were false. Ibid., p. 5; Jakobstads Tidning, March 3, August 31, 1931; Finska Amerikanaren, April 16, 1931.

¹For the second half of 1933, for instance, three private Swedish grammar schools in Finnish communes received a total of 16,900 marks in state aid. For the same period fourteen private Finnish grammar schools in Swedish communes received a total of 212,100 marks in state aid. Huvudstadsbladet, January 30, 1934.

to shift children from Swedish to Finnish schools, contrary to the wishes of the parents, claiming that the children in question knew Finnish better than Swedish and should therefore attend a Finnish school.¹

Another type of Finnization is also taking place through the attendance of Finnish schools by pupils from Swedish homes. In most of the predominantly Finnish cities there are no longer any Swedish secondary schools, and the Swedish minority is thus forced to have its children educated in Finnish, which generally means that they are lost to the Swedish nationality. But even in communities with both Swedish and Finnish schools many children are attending the Finnish schools. The pressure of the Finnish majority, the demand for and advantages of a perfect knowledge of Finnish, the preferment in public and also in many private appointments of persons who have been educated in Finnish schools and the consequent greater ease in making a career--all these conditions are enough to make many Swedish parents without a strongly developed sense of nationality put their children in a Finnish secondary school. For similar reasons the Finnish public schools in the larger cities are also attended by many children from Swedish homes. It is of course true that some Finnish parents send their children to Swedish schools in order to make them bilingual, but the pressure of public opinion among the Finns is strongly against this practice. The number of pupils from Swedish homes who are attending Finnish schools is consequently much larger than the number of pupils from Finnish homes who attend Swedish schools.²

Population Trends

The percentage of Swedes in the total population of Finland has been decreasing since about 1880. In that year the percentage of Swedes was 14.3, and then a gradual decline began to

¹Åbo Underrättelser, June 8, 1926; Huvudstadsbladet, March 20, 1927.

²The number of pupils with Swedish as their mother tongue in Finnish secondary schools was 415 in 1880-81, 715 in 1890-91, 1,081 in 1900-01, 826 in 1910-11, 651 in 1918-19, and 654 in 1932-33. The corresponding numbers of pupils with Finnish as their mother tongue in Swedish secondary schools were 289, 201, 247, 193, 178, and 164. Einar Pontán, "Elementarläroverken," Det Svenska Finland, III, 191; Huvudstadsbladet, May 6, 1934.

13.6 in 1890, 12.9 in 1900, 11.6 in 1910, 11.0 in 1920, and 10.1 in 1930.¹ This does not mean, however, that the Swedish population decreased absolutely, for it actually increased from 294,900 in 1880 to 342,900 in 1930. But the rate of growth has been extremely slow since 1900, the actual additions to the population since then being only about 2,000 persons per decade.² The Finnish population, on the other hand, has during the same period experienced a much faster rate of growth; therefore the decrease in the percentage of Swedes.

Two factors or conditions seem to be responsible for the slow rate of growth of the Swedish population: the Finnization of Swedes, and their low birth rate. After the Finnish masses were aroused to a militant nationality consciousness during the seventies and eighties of the last century and while the Swedish masses were still the unawakened "reserves," there was a considerable Finnization of Swedish peasantry along the language boundary in Nyland and Åboland.³ However, this process seems to have nearly stopped after the awakening of the Swedish masses after 1905. A Finnization of Swedish workers also took place in the larger cities. With the great influx of nationality conscious workers to the industrial centers, numerous Swedish working class families living and working among the Finns and participating in their labor and social organizations have become Finnicized. In this connection should also be mentioned the generally observed fact that the Swedes on the whole acquire a working knowledge of the other language more willingly or readily than the Finns do.⁴

The fact of a lower birth rate among the Swedes is even more important. The difference in the birth rate per 1,000 persons per year during the period 1881-1910 between the Swedish and

¹These percentages are based on the census figures gotten from the parish records for the years 1880, 1890, and 1900, but on the census figures by actual count of the "present" population for the years 1910, 1920, and 1930.

²Statistisk Årsbok för Finland, 1932 (Helsingfors, 1932), p. 43.

³Svenskt i Finland, p. 63. Here should be mentioned the communes Vichtis, Mörskom, Lappträsk, Strömfors in Nyland; Sagu and Kustö in Åboland; and perhaps also Vittisbofjärd in Satakunta and Sideby and Lappfjärd in southern Ostrobothnia. Cf. Mörne, På Finländsk Grund (Helsingfors: Söderström, 1927), pp. 73-103.

⁴Svenskt i Finland, p. 110; Mörne, På Finländsk Grund, pp. 195-96.

Finnish rural communes in the different provinces was considerable. In the province of Vasa the difference was 7.7, 7.5, and 6.8 for the three successive decades in favor of the Finns, in the province of Åbo and Björneborg in comparison with Åland 7.8, 8.4, and 10.7, and in comparison with (Swedish) Åboland 6.2, 3.2, and 3.0, and in Nyland it was 3.4, 2.1, and 1.5. The death rate, on the other hand, was on the whole only slightly lower in the Swedish communes, thus leaving a considerably lower net gain.¹

These differences, however, seem to be decreasing with time, and a further comparison of the birth rates of the neighboring Swedish and Finnish rural communes reveals the fact that the rates were steadily decreasing in every province and that the birth rates of the Finnish communes for the decade 1901-1910 are practically identical with the rates of the Swedish communes for the decade 1881-1890. In other words, the trend of the birth rate was downward for both the Swedish and the Finnish populations, but the former had a lead of about two decades.²

These differences in the birth rate of contiguous Swedish and Finnish rural areas may be accounted for in terms of several factors. At the beginning of the period in question, the Swedish communes were more densely populated and had already reached the saturation point for the prevalent type of agriculture, while the lower density in the Finnish areas allowed a further increase.³ This condition in turn was apparently causally connected with the most important differential factor, namely a very heavy emigration from the two Swedish areas which showed the lowest birth rates. Already in 1910, slightly over 19 per cent of the population of Åland was "absent" and 21 per cent of the Swedish population in Ostrobothnia.⁴ In the latter province the Swedish population actually decreased by about 6,700 persons during the period 1880-1910, while the population of the whole country increased by more than a million.⁵

¹Ernst Lindelöf, Finlands Svenska Landskommuner (Helsingfors, 1923), p. 33.

²Ibid., pp. 32-33.

³Ibid., pp. 11-13, 16; Nikander, Det Svenska Finland, III, 98-99.

⁴Lindelöf, Finlands Svenska Landskommuner, p. 17.

⁵Svenskt i Finland, p. 62.

Dr. Backman, who has made a careful comparative demographic study of the twenty-eight rural Swedish communes in Ostrobothnia and the thirty-nine neighboring rural Finnish communes of the same province, concludes that the lower birth rate among the Swedes depends upon a lower marriage rate, a higher marriage age, and a higher "absence" rate of married men. All these conditions are brought about chiefly by the very high rate of emigration. This has decreased the population directly as well as lowered the birth rate.¹

Two other mutually related factors also operate in the same direction. The Swedish population has a proportionally larger educated class than the Finnish. The urban percentage is likewise much higher. Already in 1890 about one-fourth and in 1920 about one-third of the Swedish population was urban,² while for the Finnish population the corresponding figures were only one-ninth and one-seventh. And it is a common observance amply verified by statistics in Finland as well as elsewhere that higher education and urbanity tend to decrease the birth rate.³

The relatively slow growth then of the Swedish population during the last few decades, while the Finnish population has been increasing rapidly though at a diminishing rate, seems to be due to the following factors: (1) Finnization of individuals, families, and whole localities, especially where the Swedes have only

¹Appendix No. II.

²See Appendix No. I, Table 2.

³The highest birth rate among the Finns in 1930 as well as previously was found in the northern and eastern parts of the country. These are of course the most sparsely populated and poorest sections. Thus the administrative district of Oulu (Uleåborg in Swedish) in the north had in 1930 a birth rate of 26.2 and that of Kuopio in the east a birth rate of 24.6. At the same time, the birth rate in Nyland in the south (both Swedes and Finns) was only 14.9, on Åland (Swedish) only 11.7, and in Ostrobothnia (both Swedes and Finns) 19.7). The Finnish districts bordering on the Swedish districts apparently had the lowest Finnish rates. In Nyland (including Helsingfors) and on Åland the death rate was actually higher than the birth rate. Finlands officiella statistik, Befolkningsförhållandena år 1930, Separate pamphlet (Helsingfors, 1931), pp. 5-9.

At the end of 1932, the total membership of the three Swedish Lutheran parishes in Helsingfors was about 73,500. During the year there were 568 marriages, 762 births, and 922 deaths. The total membership of the three Finnish Lutheran parishes at the end of the year was about 171,700. During the year there occurred in these parishes 1,634 marriages, 1,712 births, and 1,679 deaths. Svenska Pressen, December 31, 1932.

a small minority, (2) agricultural saturation of rural areas with a resultant heavy migration to foreign countries of the young people and a consequently lowered birth rate, and (3) a large educated class and a high degree of urbanization.

The facts and trends of bilinguality in Finland are at present not completely known. Some surveys which altogether included about two-thirds of the urban population have been made for the period 1900-1920. The results indicate that the number of bilingual persons among both Swedes and Finns more than doubled during the period. The number of monolingual Finnish urbanites also nearly doubled, while monolingual Swedish urbanites actually decreased.¹ Slightly less than 30 per cent of the Finnish population in the city of Helsingfors was bilingual in 1900. By 1930 the Finnish population of the city had approximately trebled and over 34 per cent was now classed as bilingual.² The percentage of bilinguality among the Swedes in Helsingfors is of course much higher.

One may conclude from this and other evidence that bilinguality is actually increasing among the urban population. This is especially the case among both Swedes and Finns in the coastal cities within the Swedish population areas.³ The reverse

¹Wuorinen, Nationalism in Modern Finland (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), p. 230. Data secured from H. Dahlström, "Kiellisuhteet Suomessa," Oma Maa, V, 471-81. Monolingual Finns in the population under consideration increased by 80 per cent, but the number of bilingual Finns by 150 per cent. The number of bilingual Swedes in the same urban population increased by 123 per cent, while the number of monolingual Swedes decreased by 25 per cent.

²Statistisk Årsbok för Finland, 1932, pp. 11-13; Svenska Pressen, August 3, 1933.

³According to Heikki Waris, The Rise of a Workingman's Community on the North Side of the Long Bridge of Helsinki, English Summary (Helsinki, 1932), p. 25, Swedish and Finnish workers have in that community lived in common households and intermarried to a considerable extent; the bilingualism of the outer community has thus also come to obtain in the families and households.

It has frequently been asserted among the Swedes that mixed marriages of Swedes and Finns generally leads to a Finnization of the family. This is probably not true because of the mixed marriage per se; the result will in most cases depend upon the social environment.

An investigation made by K. Karlson about 1895 revealed that in Kimito, a commune with about 70 per cent of the population Swedish, 48 children with a Swedish father and Finnish mother had become Finnish, while 77 had become Swedish, and 37 bilingual. With a Finnish father and a Swedish mother only 2 children had be-

is probably true in the case of some of the smaller Finnish inland cities. No data exist as to the past or present condition of bilinguality among the Swedish and Finnish rural populations.

The "Mission" of the Swedish Language and
Nationality in Finland

The Swedish nationality in Finland has also, as previously mentioned, developed a sense of a mission. It aspires to act, through its language, as an intermediary between Finland and the (other) Scandinavian countries, and thus to keep Finland both culturally and politically an integral part of the Scandinavian world. This aspiration challenges at least a brief examination.

Opposing arguments.--With the political independence of the country and the practical dominance of the Finnish language in both education and administration, the rôle of the Swedish language as a mediating agency between Finland and its cultural neighbors was also increasingly questioned from the Finnish side. By the Aito-Finns the use of Swedish in administration and higher education is regarded as both costly and unnecessary. They deny that the Swedish language has any function in the political and cultural relations of the country with the rest of Europe. One of the so-called great cultural languages--preferably German or English--,they argue, should take the place of Swedish in the Finnish secondary schools.

The Swedes, on the other hand, maintain that the Swedish language still has a much greater importance to and in Finland than is indicated by the numerical size of the Swedish nationality in the country. Most documents, except those of very recent origin, are in Swedish and require knowledge of that language by those in educational and administrative work. Politically, Finland is also primarily a part of Scandinavia. In spite of sporadic attempts during the last fifteen years to form political alliances

come Finnish and 246 Swedish. These figures would indicate that the language of the mother is more important than the language of the father as a determiner of the language of the children. In Pargas, a commune with about 80 per cent of the population Swedish, only 12.4 per cent of the children in mixed marriages had become Finnish. And in Nagu, a commune with about 87 per cent of the population Swedish, only 1 per cent of the children from mixed marriages had become Finnish. Karlson's conclusion was that the children in mixed marriages tend to adopt the language of the environment. Svenskt i Finland, p. 64.

with the new states east of the Baltic against the common political enemy, namely the Soviet Union, Finland has in political matters and international interests remained most closely linked with the Scandinavian countries.

In matters of cultural interests and activities this linkage is still closer and of the greatest importance. Finland is culturally Scandinavian, and its most numerous, intimate, and energizing cultural contacts are with the Scandinavian countries, especially Sweden. And in all these activities and contacts the Swedish language is the medium of communication so far as the Finlanders are concerned. Thus run the arguments of the Swedes.

The Swedish arguments also seem to find some support in governmental circles. This was most recently evidenced in a proposition submitted by the ministry to the Riksdag in February, 1934, to modify certain aspects of the present language law, where it was argued as follows:

This (that a citizen should be served by the administration in his own language), to be sure, does not directly cause the state any greater expense; it only compels the state to lay on those who seek offices considerable demands with respect to the knowledge of languages, as already mentioned. But as the preservation of the knowledge of the Swedish language in our country is of great cultural importance, because a valuable part of our older literature and culture appeared in a Swedish form, and as, besides, knowledge of the Swedish language is practically advantageous in that it makes possible for us a necessary connection not only with the geographically and culturally proximate Sweden but also with the whole Scandinavia, it is possible for us to practice to a greater extent than the bare necessity would demand the principle of using the citizen's own language also with respect to the Swedish population in our country.¹

Cultural contacts with Scandinavia.--It is of course difficult to measure cultural contacts and influences either quantitatively or qualitatively. Certain data may, however, be mentioned as roughly indicative of such contacts. According to the revenue and post office figures for the year 1931, Finland imported during that year books, newspapers, and magazines from Sweden to the value of approximately fifteen and a half million marks, while it exported to Sweden such matter to value of slightly more than two million marks.² During the year 1933 there were about 100,000 telephone calls between Finland and other countries,

¹Huvudstadsbladet, February 27, 1934.

²Finska Amerikanaren, January 17, 1934.

representing about 212,000 periods of conversation. The percentages of these conversations with the different countries were as follows: Sweden 40 per cent, Esthonia 31.1 per cent, Germany 9.4 per cent, Denmark 4.7 per cent, Russia 3.9 per cent, and the rest of Europe together 10.9 per cent.¹ During the year 1931, 37,470 persons of foreign citizenship visited Finland. The countries represented in this total by more than one thousand of their citizens were the following: Sweden 11,075, Esthonia, 5,775, Germany 5,210, United States 4,054, Great Britain 2,917, Denmark 1,871, and Norway 1,678.² So far as these data are indicative of cultural contacts, they unmistakably point to Sweden as Finland's closest cultural associate. In the same direction points also the fact that a much larger number of prominent persons from Sweden than from any other country annually visit Finland for series of lectures.³

The most important index, however, of the cultural relations of Finland with the Scandinavian countries is perhaps found in the inter-Scandinavian conferences and congresses of various kinds. A cursory survey of the pages of Svenska Pressen and Huvudstadsbladet from May 1, 1931, to August 31, 1932, revealed the mere mention or extensive reporting of nearly forty inter-Scandinavian congresses in which Finland apparently was represented. Of these, sixteen were held in Finland, most of them in Helsingfors. Some samples will illustrate their nature. The Northern History Teachers met in Helsingfors, July 4 - 10, 1931. About 170 representatives of the four countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden) were reported as participating.⁴ The thirteenth northern meeting of Christian Students was held in Åbo, July 28-30, 1931, with about 160 representatives present from the three Scandinavian countries.⁵ The Northern Railway Congress convened in

¹Huvudstadsbladet, January 17, 1934.

²Turistföreningen i Finland Årsbok, 1932 (Helsingfors, 1932), p. 125.

³Among those lecturing in Helsingfors sometime during the first four months of 1934 may be mentioned Dr. Olof Klingberg, Prof. K. B. Westman, Dr. Karin Koch, Prof. Nils Ahnlund, Prof. Gunnar Myrdal, Alva Myrdal, Dr. John Landquist, Prof. Jöran Sahlgren, Dr. Ivar Öman, Prof. Hjalmar Holmquist, Dr. Thorsten Streyffert, and Dr. Herbert Tingsten. Huvudstadsbladet, January 8, 21, 26, 31, March 14, 23, 24, April 1, 6, 16, 18, 1934.

⁴Svenska Pressen, July 4, 7, 1931.

⁵Ibid., July 24, 1931.

Helsingfors, July 24-27, 1932, with 151 delegates representing Denmark, 110 Sweden, 112 Norway, and 70 Finland.¹

The role of the Swedish language in these contacts.--At these Northern or Scandinavian conventions and congresses, held by the score every year and covering every aspect of culture--art, science, education, religion, economics, politics, and the interests of the different professions--, all the three Scandinavian languages are used. There is no translating, as each language is more or less well understood by all. But as both Swedes and Finlanders use Swedish, that language often tends to become the main language of the meetings, especially of those held in Finland, as for instance of the Railway Congress held in Helsingfors in July, 1932.

The very number and variety of these inter-Scandinavian congresses makes it evident that the cultural life of Finland is intimately and organically connected with the cultural life of the Scandinavian countries. Finland is, in fact, both politically and culturally one of them.² But this political and cultural unity is based on and functions through the mutually intelligible languages. And the sine qua non for the existence and continuance of these cultural relations of Finland with the other Scandinavian countries seems to be the ability to understand and use the Swedish language on the part of the educated Finns.³

¹Huvudstadsbladet, July 28, 29, 30, 1932.

²E. C. Bellquist in an article entitled "Inter-Scandinavian Coöperation," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CLXVIII (July, 1933), 187, 192, makes the following statement: "In 1924 Finland was admitted as the fourth member of the (Northern Inter-Parliamentary) Union, which was extended the following year to include Iceland. . . . Finland's membership in the Northern fraternity rests upon its inheritance of Swedish culture and its understanding of the Swedish language, although the Finn wishes to be, first and last, Finnish. Although Scandinavia proper has through reciprocal relations come to be regarded as a unity in the eyes of Europe, Finland to a certain extent stands outside of this group, yet it belongs to it. History, political developments, culture, religion, and other factors bind it to the others."

³The older Fennomen used to emphasize the value of cultural relations with Scandinavia and maintain at the same time that a complete Finnization of public life would not prevent the incorporation of the country in the cultural Scandia major. The Aito-Finns, however, with their emphasis on a purely Finnish culture in Finland are apparently beginning to discount the value of any cultural coöperation with the Scandinavian countries and to oppose it. Svenska Pressen (Editorial), March 21, 1933.

Attempts have nevertheless been made to use Finnish together with the Scandinavian languages in these gatherings. In the summer of 1928, for instance, when the Northern Educational Conference and the Northern Kindergarten Congress met in Helsingfors, the hosts had arranged for the use of Finnish alongside of the Scandinavian tongues. This involved translation in the general sessions and special Finnish sections. The results apparently proved quite unsatisfactory, and a general opinion seems to have developed to the effect that those who wish to participate in these Northern or Scandinavian congresses must be able to understand and use one of the Scandinavian tongues.¹

The Aito-Finnish campaign against the Swedish language in Finland during 1933 also produced reactions in the Scandinavian countries. The matter led to an interpellation by Mayor Lindhagen of Stockholm in the Swedish Riksdag,² and a large number of newspapers, both national and local, gave attention to the struggle and expressed strong disapproval of the Aito-Finnish attacks.³ The

¹Such is the contention of an editorial entitled "Nordiska kongresserfarenheter," Svenska Pressen, June 16, 1928.

On the same topic the Danish paper Børsen is quoted as saying: "The problem of the status of the Swedish language in Finland is practically identical with the question of Finland's participation in the inter-Scandinavian gatherings. A Finnish Finland, with the Swedish language entirely put aside, would be a drag upon the Northern coöperation." Huvudstadsbladet, November 28, 1930.

A prominent paper in Sweden, Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning, seems to have expressed very succinctly the reaction in Sweden to the use of Finnish in the Scandinavian congresses in saying that "the certification of membership for Finland in the Scandinavian union is written in Swedish." To this expression there was a strong reaction in the Finnish papers which, characteristically enough, interpreted it as a demand that the Finns must surrender their own language and nationality. Ibid., February 26, March 11, 14, 16, 19, 1929.

²Huvudstadsbladet, February 24, 1934.

³The Danish paper Politiken is reported writing as follows in a long commentary on the question: "It is the Swedish language which is the means of association between Finland and the rest of the North. That is noticed not least at the congresses. From the moment a Finn here speaks Finnish and therefore can make himself understood only by the help of an interpreter, he is no longer what we call a Scandinavian. For all Scandinavians understand each other; yea, even in reality speak the same language though in different variations. That is really the foremost earmark of Scandinavianism.

"One can easily understand that the Finnish Finlanders wish to cultivate their national uniqueness. But in a country where they constitute nine-tenths of the population nobody can

visit of Mr. Hackzell, the minister of foreign affairs for Finland, to Stockholm in the spring of 1934, and the return visit shortly afterwards to Helsingfors of Mr. Sandler, the minister of foreign affairs for Sweden, may best be interpreted as a diplomatic attempt to ease the strains that the Aito-Finnish campaign had occasioned.

During the summer of 1934 the visits of culturally significant persons and the Northern congresses were also continued. Verner von Heidenstam, the Swedish author and Nobel prize winner, Archbishop Eidem of Uppsala, and Prince Gustaf Adolf, grandson of King Gustaf of Sweden, made extended and apparently highly appreciated visits in Finland.¹ And among the more important Northern congresses held in Helsingfors should be mentioned the Northern Rotary Congress with about two hundred participants,² the Northern School Youth meeting,³ the Northern Parliamentary Congress,⁴ and the Northern Rural Youth convention with about six hundred and fifty participants.⁵

prevent them from doing so. The Swedish language is not and can never be any threat against the Finnish nationality.

"The nationalistic campaign against the Swedish language in Finland is therefore not only uncalled for; it is directly harmful in that it attempts to tie up the main artery of the Northern-Finnish cultural association. And when it is intensified to Aito-Finnish race hatred, it naturally awakens the aversion of all Scandinavians. It simply cannot be otherwise." Svenska Pressen, July 14, 1933.

And Aftonbladet in Stockholm is reported writing editorially: "The positive contribution (of the Swedish minority) to Finland has been many times greater than its proportion in the population. No danger threatens in any way the Finnish majority from the minority of loyal and patriotic Swedes in Finland. . . . The independence of Finland which has given the Finns the power to manage their realm is to a large extent their (the Swedes') work. A just and acknowledging treatment of the Swedes would only serve to consolidate Finland and its culture and especially favor its relations with Sweden and the rest of the North. The attempt of the Finns to push aside and isolate the Swedes in the country--fortunately not participated in by all Finns--has, on the other hand and in every way, a contrary effect." Svenska Pressen, March 16, 1933.

¹Huvudstadsbladet, May 22, June 9, 1934; Svenska Pressen, July 16-20, 1934.

²Huvudstadsbladet, May 24, June 4, 1934.

³Ibid., May 17-22, 1934.

⁴Svenska Pressen, July 9, 10, 1934.

⁵Ibid., July 13-16, 1934. Estonian representatives also participated in this convention.

CHAPTER XII

THEORIES OF NATIONALISM AND THEIR APPLICATION TO THE SWEDISH NATIONALITY MOVEMENT IN FINLAND

Theories of Nationalism

Having presented the historical development of the Swedish nationality movement in Finland, there remains the task of reviewing it from the point of view of the theories of nationalism and of analyzing the peculiarities of this movement.

Though theories of nationalism have received considerable attention ever since Renan asked the question, "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" they do not seem to have been integrated into a system that can be stated concisely.¹ It is therefore necessary to select and briefly present the more important parts of such a system or body of theory. This will be done under the following headings: (1) Terminology, (2) Factors and Symbols, (3) Typology, (4) Conflict and Nationality, (5) Organization, (6) Secular Religion, and (7) Natural History.

Terminology.--The attempt to define the terms nationalism and nationality constitute a considerable part of the theory of the subject. The term nationalism is vague in its meaning, and is difficult to define. During the period of its usage by historians and social scientists it has acquired several related meanings.

It stands in the first place for an actual historical process, that of establishing nationalities as political units, of building out of tribes and empires the modern institution of the national state. Secondly, the term indicates the theory, principle, or ideal implicit in the actual historical process. In this sense it signifies both an intensification of the consciousness of nationality and a political philosophy of the national state. Thirdly, it may mean, in such phrases as "Irish nationalism" or "Chinese nationalism," the activities of particular political party, combining an historical process and a political theory; this meaning is clearer when the adjective "nationalist" is employed, A fourth and

¹A concise theoretical treatment of nationalism is offered by Max Hildebert Boehm, "Nationalism: Theoretical Aspects," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman, XI, 231-40.

final use of "nationalism" is to denote a condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one's national state is superior to other loyalties and of which pride in one's nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and in its "mission" are integral parts.¹

Consciousness of nationality, activities towards national self-realization, and the overestimation of one's own nation (or nationality) seem to be common and significant features of all modern nationalisms.

The term nationality, like other derivatives from the same root, is apparently quite recent. For legal and political purposes it has been used practically as a synonym for citizenship. For psychological purposes it has been used to designate the attitude or "sense" of nationalism. This psychological emphasis is evident in Herbert's definition: "Nationality is a form of consciousness of kind which binds men together irrespective of their political allegiance or opinions, religious beliefs or economic interests."² It is also evident in the first part of Zangwill's definition: "Nationality is a state of mind corresponding to a political fact."³ The second part, the political fact, appears to be the politically organized group.

The more recent ethnic and cultural emphasis appears in Hayes' definition of nationality as "a group of people who speak either the same language or closely related dialects, who cherish common historical traditions, and who constitute or think they constitute a distinct cultural society."⁴ Increasingly, and in a concrete sense, the term nationality is "used to designate an undeveloped and non-independent national group which has not yet attained to national sovereignty."⁵ Its chief characteristic seems to be that it aspires to a higher degree of political organization and independence. Nationalism is then another name for the activities and strivings of a nationality for independence.

¹Carlton J. H. Hayes, Essays on Nationalism (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 5-6.

²Sidney Herbert, Nationality and Its Problems (New York: Dutton and Co., 1919), p. 20.

³Israel Zangwill, The Principle of Nationalities (New York: Macmillan, 1917), p. 46.

⁴Hayes, Essays on Nationalism, p. 5.

⁵Boehm, "Nationalism: Theoretical Aspects," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Vol. XI.

Factors and symbols.--Students of nationalism have attempted to account for it in terms of other social phenomena or in terms of biological and geographical factors. No two nationalistic movements, however, appear to be identical in their respective combinations of factors. Each movement is in a sense unique, though its general characteristics as a popular movement place it in the category of nationalism.

The most commonly assumed and discussed factors in nationalism are language, religion, race, territory, and common historical traditions. Of these, language is regarded as perhaps the most important by many students.¹ It is also found to be perhaps the most frequently occurring factor. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the universal means of communication within the group and a means of isolation with reference to other groups. Conceptions of race, rather than race itself, have played a role in national movements.² Religion has frequently made entangling alliances with other factors.³ Homeland and territory have become the object of veneration and have been thought of as standing in a mysterious relation to the people.⁴ Common historical traditions are occasionally more important than other factors. In addition to these, dynasties, class interests, and economic developments⁵ have played their part. An almost inevitable human factor seems to be a group of "intellectuals," often "marginal men," who give voice to the wishes of the masses, define the situation, and kindle the aspirations for something better.⁶

In the propaganda of nationalism certain symbols are common and important. Such are the very name of the country or the

¹Boehm, "Nationalism: Theoretical Aspects," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. XI; Herbert H. Miller, Races, Nations and Classes (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1924), chap. vi.

²John Oakesmith, Race and Nationality (New York: F. A. Stokes, 1919). This volume contains a critical appraisal of race as a factor in the development of nationalism. Cf. Louis Wirth, "Race and Nationalism," Contemporary Society, ed. Harry D. Gideonse (6th ed.; University of Chicago, 1936), pp. 454-74.

³Miller, Races, Nations and Classes, chap. v.

⁴This is an important theme with reference to the people and the land of France in the voluminous nationalistic writings of Maurice Barrès.

⁵Carlton J. H. Hayes, Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism (New York: R. R. Smith, 1931), chap. vii.

⁶Ibid., chap. viii; Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man (New York: Scribners, 1937), chap. vii.

nationality, the national dress (formerly), the national script (if different), the national flag, national songs and hymns, myths, legends, national fêtes and holidays, and national heroes.¹ These are collective representations through which national sentiment is revived and mobilized.

Each nationalistic movement also develops an ideology appropriate to the situation. This is, of course, the work of the intellectuals. This ideology generally includes a rationalization of the history of the group, it defines "historical" and "natural" rights, and it projects a "mission" in justification of nationalistic activities. It is, so to speak, the intellectual center of the movement and it is also central in its propaganda.²

Typology.--Historical considerations of nationalism have led to the conviction that there are several varieties of this large species. Hayes has attempted to trace its history during the modern period, especially since the middle of the eighteenth century. During this latter period of little more than a century and a half there have, according to this writer, arisen and flourished the following types of nationalism: (1) humanitarian nationalism, with the humanitarian and cosmopolitan sentiments of the period of "enlightenment"; (2) Jacobin nationalism of the French revolution, with its democracy, militarism, and missionary spirit; (3) traditional nationalism, with the romantic emphasis on the "people" and the traditions of the past; (4) liberal nationalism, with its insistence on liberal democracy and the self-determination of nations (and nationalities); and (5) integral nationalism, as proclaimed and exemplified in the modern "totalitarian" states.³

This typology may be serviceable for historical purposes but it is not easily adapted to the analysis of the many nationalistic movements in Europe during the last half century. A much more realistic approach to the problem of dividing nationalism into types was made by Handman in an article entitled "The Sentiment

¹Arnold van Gennep, Traité Comparatif des Nationalités, Vol. I entitled Les Éléments Extérieurs de la Nationalité (Paris: Payot, 1921).

²Boehm, "Nationalism: Theoretical Aspects," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. XI.

³Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, chaps. 11-vi.

of Nationalism."¹ He defined the sentiment of nationalism as a more or less chronic "agitated and agitating concern with the life and honor of the group," and took cognizance of the fact that it arises out of group relationships and interaction. Handman classified nationalism into four more or less definite and distinguishable types: (1) oppression-nationalism, which is found in groups living in subordination to another group and subject to a regime of political, social, and economic disabilities; (2) irredentism, which is found in nations whose political boundaries are so drawn that a considerable number of their people (and the territory they dwell on) are members or parts of another state; (3) precaution-nationalism, which appears to be a sign or expression of a national inferiority complex; and (4) prestige-nationalism, which is characterized by the ordinary imperialistic activities to maintain status in a competitive world-organization.

More recently Wirth has proposed and somewhat elaborated a typology of nationalism, in some ways similar to Handman's but with other important differences.² Wirth's scheme also includes four types: (1) hegemony nationalism, or the centripetal movements combining smaller principalities and nationalities into larger and more effective political units, including the "movements of unification" and the "pan-istic" ideals and strivings of the last century, together with imperialism, irredentism, and fascism; (2) particularistic nationalism, or the centrifugal movements within the established states, exemplified in secessionistic demands and strivings for cultural autonomy and political independence on the part of subordinated nationalities; (3) marginal nationalism, or nationalistic movements of border and frontier areas, which generally are mixed in race and culture but exhibit single-minded national loyalties; and (4) minority nationalism, which is exemplified in the conflicts and strivings for status and partial autonomy of minorities, perhaps separated from their "mother country," within a national state.

Conflict and nationality.--Wirth's types are intended to reveal "fundamental differences in motivation and meaning." The basic assumption is, that "a typology of nationalism must corre-

¹Max Sylvanus Handman, "The Sentiment of Nationalism," Political Science Quarterly, XXXVI (March, 1921), 104-21.

²Louis Wirth, "Types of Nationalism," American Journal of Sociology, XLI (May, 1936), 723-37.

spond to the types of relations of opposition and conflict which characterize the relations between groups."¹ The approach thus emphasizes the fact that nationalities are conflict groups. Gumplowicz' conception of conflict between ethnic groups as the essential social process² has much to substantiate it in modern nationalism.

Nationalism is in its very nature expansive and aggressive. The natural reaction to the activities of expansion and aggression are activities of opposition and defense. The expansion may be an invasion of territory, of spheres of influence, of economic and class privileges and social status, of cultural institutions, or of anything that has come to be a group value and a matter of honor and prestige. The opposition and defense naturally occurs at the point of attack, whichever it may be. "These struggles," says Park, "in which a submerged people seek to rise and make for themselves a place in a world occupied by superior and privileged races, are no less vital or less important because they are bloodless."³

Language seems to be especially important as an object of social and political conflict. Such conflict may involve pride and prestige but more important is the feeling that the fortune of the language is an index of the fortune of the group--retreat or expansion, survival or decline. Language conflicts usually center on the use of the language in legal affairs, in public administration, and especially in the schools, from the lowest to the highest.

The dominant position of language in national conflict arises from its utter incompatibility. There are few practical possibilities of using several languages simultaneously or of mixing these elements. People are thus more constrained to make a decision in the case of language than in matters of custom, gesture or thought. Above all language is the material basis of all higher forms of cultural and spiritual life and of the science and literature of a people. It undoubtedly represent the strongest and most significant bond which unites the various cultural expressions of a people.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 724.

²Ludwig Gumplowicz, Der Rassenkampf (Innsbrück, 1883).

³Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 631.

⁴Boehm, "Nationalism: Theoretical Aspects," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. XI.

Organization.--The generally accepted theory of social movements is that they begin with a more or less general discontent and unrest, then pass through a somewhat chaotic popular stage, develop leadership, slogans, and doctrines, and then proceed into a final stage of more or less definite organization and institutionalization.¹

Nationality movements seem to be no exception to this general rule. The emphasis at this point, however, is that in the course of such a movement numerous organizations and activities arise, which, in a sense, constitute the movement in the concrete and through which its purposes are advanced.

Such organizations tend to proliferate as the movement progresses. The first organizations may be literary societies or societies to further popular education. To these are later added those with political and economic--and more distinctly nationalistic--purposes. Other already existing cultural organizations are brought under the aegis of the movement and made to serve its purposes. A Press is developed and becomes one of the chief agencies of propaganda. Youth organizations are created to facilitate the indoctrination of the new generation with the national ideology through precept and appropriate activities. An inner strength is thus achieved to meet the emergencies of the situation.

A secular religion.--Religion, as pointed out above, is often an element in nationalism, in combination with language, government, or some other factor. In some cases it seems to have been the most basic factor.

The significant theoretical point to be made here, however, is that nationalism itself has a strong tendency to become a secular religion. As nationalism progresses, it tends to subordinate organized religion to its purposes or to supplant it entirely as a popular religion. As such it mobilizes the emotions and sentiments of the people, it develops its own symbols, something akin to a ritual, a theology, and a priesthood, and it projects its own millenium. It compels some kind of ethical metamorphosis in the mass of its devotees. In general, it exaggerates the values of nationality and state and makes those the supreme objects of loyalty--values to which other values must be subordinated, if need be by force and violence. La patrie or das Vaterland becomes

¹Cf. Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p. 874.

the object of a common, popular worship.¹

Natural history.--It was pointed out in the previous section that social movements exhibit a typical sequence of stages in their history and that nationality movements are no exception. But the movements which fall within the category of nationalism, in so far as they constitute a distinct species, apparently exhibit their own sequences of stages, phases, or emphases. Besides, when a given movement and its accompanying phenomena are looked at from different points of view, the picture will in each case appear different.

Park has stated that the struggles of oppressed and minor nationalities in Europe for cultural survival and ultimately political self-determination have the same general features, "irrespective of time, place, and historical circumstances." They are, in the first place, "revivals" of the folk speech and folk-lore and thus become linguistic and literary movements. Second, they are the struggles of a disinherited, oppressed, and predominantly rural population to maintain and emancipate themselves culturally, politically, and economically, and thus to gain status for themselves. Third, "they have invariably resulted in a general expansion of the people, geographical as well as cultural, accompanied by a marked elevation and intensification of the lives of the individuals and of the peoples as a whole."²

Wirth's four types of nationalism--hegemony, particularistic, marginal, and minority--are also intended to represent four successive stages in a national movement. These types represent the general sequence of nationalism in any of the larger national states that came into existence in the nineteenth century.

From a still different point of view Rossouw presents the idea that the terms "nationality," "nationalism," "nation," and

¹Hayes, Essays on Nationalism, chap. iv. Cf. Hans Kohn, A History of Nationalism in the East, trans. Margaret M. Green (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929). In the introductory chapter Kohn presents and briefly elaborates the old hypothesis that each epoch in human history is dominated by some more or less inclusive and guiding idea. During the medieval period of European history it was religion (Christianity); during the modern period it has been nationalism. Kohn also professes to see in the recent excesses of nationalism the beginnings of its decline, just as the religious wars at the beginning of the modern period signaled the decline of the power of religion in the Western world.

²Robert E. Park, "Negro Race Consciousness as Reflected in Race Literature," American Review, I (1923), 515.

"international" (or "imperialism") designate a "consecutive series of human behavior." Group consciousness arises in contact with, or under the oppression of, other groups. The wish for status sets off the nationality movement. The movement inspires, and is inspired by, poets, prophets, and artists. The goal ultimately becomes defined in terms of nationhood and political independence. Nationalism becomes a secular religion. It organizes and directs collective behavior toward the goal. If political independence is achieved, the movement enters the last phase: the new national state attempts to incorporate other nationalities within its borders. The formerly oppressed nationality will then be the oppressor.¹

To the writer an emphasis somewhat different from any of those so far presented seems significant. It is evident, as Park maintains, that most of the nationality movements in Europe began with an interest in the folk-speech and folk-lore and thus became linguistic and literary revivals in their initial phase. This was especially the case wherever another "superior" language had taken the place of the vernacular as the language of education and cultural activities. The next phase seems to be that of organization to make the group politically effective and to gain for it that degree of independence or that political status and rôle to which the nationality has come to aspire. In the third phase, emphasis seems to be on economic organization. This may mean the transfer of economic power into the hands of the formerly oppressed but now rising group, or it may, in other cases, mean the development of those activities now generally known as "economic nationalism."

Summary.--The theories of nationalism presented above are then in summary: That a nationality is a self-conscious, ethnic group, which aspires to a higher political status and that its strivings for this political status constitutes nationalism or a nationality movement; that certain factors (especially language), symbols, and an ideology are important elements in a nationality movement; that nationalism as exhibited in Europe is of several types (the typology depending upon the point of view); that a nationality is a conflict group and that conflicts in regard to

¹George S. H. Rossouw, Nationalism and Language: An Introduction to the Sociology of Nationalism and Internationalism (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1922), pp. 13-15.

language are especially important; that a nationality movement in a sense exists in, and operates through, numerous organizations, which it bends to its purposes; that nationalism tends to become a secular religion; and finally, that nationality movements exhibit various sequences of phases and stages.

Review of the Swedish Nationality Movement in Finland in Terms of the Theories of Nationalism

It would no doubt be impossible to find a nationality movement that would conform entirely to a single pure type--even if we had such a type clearly defined for nationality movements. But though the theoretical picture is somewhat vague, it is evident that some movements conform more closely to type, while others tend to be, at least in some respects, atypical. In the considerations that follow, an attempt will be made to bring out the essential features of the movement under discussion against the theory of nationalism outlined in the first part of this chapter.

Many Finns have combatted the idea that there is a Swedish nationality in Finland--to them they are only Swedish-speaking Finns. It is true that the Swedish upper class which fought for its privileged positions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century does not have the earmarks of a nationality. Its struggle was also primarily a class struggle against the Finnish masses. Since about 1905, however, the whole Swedish population has been group conscious on the basis of a common language, it has regarded itself as a cultural society, and it has aspired to a certain political status--all criteria of a nationality. It follows, of course, that their strivings and activities to realize their goal constitute a nationality movement.

If we take the former Russian Empire as the unit of analysis, Wirth's scheme seems to fit the facts both in regard to types and their sequence. Finlandic particularism was a reaction against Russian imperialism with its aggressive assimilative tendencies, and the minority nationalism of the Swedes is a reaction against Finnish nationalism as well as an endeavor to achieve a satisfactory political-cultural status vis-a-vis the Finns within the Finlandic state.

Language has been the one primary factor in the movement. It was on the language basis that the whole population group, class and mass, finally achieved organization. Language became

the test and index of nationality. A change of language has come to mean a change of nationality. It follows that the conflict between the two nationalities has constantly centered around language, more recently especially about the status and rôle of Swedish in the administration and in higher education. The losses in this field are felt to reflect the fortunes of the whole group.

Social and economic class and position have also played a considerable part in the movement, especially in its early stages, when those were the basis of organization. Race, or rather, the notion about race, has played only a minor role; religion none at all. A common country and common historical traditions with the Finns have among the Swedes tended to produce political Finlandic patriotism as more or less distinct from the cultural Swedish nationalism.

The movement has, at least in part, been the result of the intellectual and organizing activities of intellectuals. These have also been instrumental in discovering the historical "civilizing" role of the Swedish language in Finland. They have defined its present and future "mission" in the world; namely, to act as a bridge and highway in the relations between Finland and the other Scandinavian countries. The intellectuals likewise developed the new nationality ideology--a new definition of the relations of the Swedes in Finland to the Finns, to Finland as a state, and to Sweden. The usual series of symbols for organizing sentiment have also been developed.

From the material presented in Chapter VIII it is clear that the Swedish movement took tangible form in a large number of societies, organizations, and more or less institutionalized activities. Some of these had a definitely nationalistic purpose; others have come to function in the furthering of the ends and purposes of the nationality movement, since they are integrated parts of the larger group-life.

The Swedish movement also exhibits a sequence of stages or phases, each with its special emphasis and dominant characteristics. Beginning with a small group of university students as an interest in nationality problems and in the Swedish common folk, it metamorphosed, under the force of prevailing circumstances, into the political party of an upper social and economic class. When this class lost its political foundations in the democratic revolution shortly after the turn of the century, the

Swedish masses were "revived" and drawn into the struggle. The "language fight" (as it was called) of the Swedish upper class now became the struggle for existence of a conscious nationality--a nationality movement. An internal organization was rapidly effected for cultural, political, and even economic and racial purposes. After the civil war (1918), the efforts were largely concentrated on the achievement of a constitutionally guaranteed status of the language in the country and on the establishment of a limited cultural autonomy within the larger political unit. Since then the struggle has been primarily a defense of these positions.

Stated thus the facts do not seem to fit any of the theoretical sequences previously outlined. In other words, the Swedish movement in Finland is in many important respects an atypical nationality movement. The more important atypical features will next be pointed out and briefly explained.

The initial phase of the movement was not a linguistic "revival," though Freudenthal and his disciples, under the influence of literary romanticism, were keenly interested in folk-lore and the folk-speech, which was despised by the educated Swedes. This is of course explained by the fact that the Swedish language had historically been the cultural language of the country and held that position at that time. Even the leaders of the Finnish movement mostly used Swedish in their writings. The literary and patriotic renaissance represented by Runeberg's poetry should, however, be recognized as an important background factor of the Swedish movement.

The movement was not a struggle of an "oppressed" and rural population for emancipation and status. This would be true of the Finnish movement. The Swedish movement, on the contrary, was for a whole generation a class organization for defense of privileged social and economic positions against the "oppressed" but now aggressive Finnish population. Only later when oppression seemed to threaten the whole Swedish population, could the folk of the Swedish country-side be "revived" and drawn into the movement.

With the exception of Åland and the Ålanders, the Swedish provinces and population in Finland have not become a Svecia ir-redenta. Neither political independence nor unification with Sweden have to date become the extreme goals of the movement. To repeat, only a certain degree of cultural autonomy secured within the frame of constitutional and legal arrangements has been sought.

One may look for an explanation of this fact primarily in geographical conditions, but also in a highly developed appreciation of the history and traditions of the country (a la Runeberg) among the Swedes, in the relatively large class among them whose professional and business interests relate them to the country as a whole rather than to the purely Swedish districts, and perhaps also in the tendency of the government to proceed slowly in matters relating to language and nationality and to effect compromises rather than to follow the promptings of the Finnish extremists.

There has always been in the Swedish movement a great emphasis on "culture" and "cultural values,"--synonyms for the Swedish language and cultural heritage. This was until recently conceived of as superior to Finnish culture. The whole movement has, even down to the present, been colored by the preponderance of the large educated class and its interests.

It might be pointed out again that language has been almost the sole, certainly the dominant, factor in this movement. Economic motives were no doubt important in the struggle of the Swedish class for its privileged positions; during the recent decades, on the other hand, the larger Swedish economic interests whose field of operations is the whole country, have endeavored to tone down the more radical Swedishness of the country-side.

Though fervent enough at times, nationalism has not, on the whole, assumed the nature of a religion among the Swedes in Finland. Only a few times, when the conflict has become unusually bitter, has it taken on the characteristics of a religious faith. In constant intercourse with the Finns, especially in the cities, practical considerations, in ordinary times, tend to become dominant.

The "oppression psychosis" which seems to be a characteristic of most nationalistic movement, is still almost totally absent among the Swedes in Finland. It is, on the other hand very obvious in the Aito-Finnish groups where it has struck the attention of both Finnish and Swedish observers. This apparently reversed condition seems to represent a lag of several decades in psychological reactions as compared with the actual conditions. The psychosis was developed among the Finns during the last century and has continued in spite of the reversed role of "oppressor" and "oppressed." This may be due to the frequent repetition of

the myth of the "oppressed Finns" in the Aito-Finnish newspapers.

While nationalism generally tends to be aggressive and expansive, the tactics of the Swedish movement in Finland have almost invariably been defensive. This fact is explained by the historical situation and the relative size of the two nationalities. The dominant Swedish class tried to defend its position at the top, its privileges and "rights," but had to retreat constantly. More recently, when numbers have counted most, the Swedish minority of ten per cent could at best attempt to defend positions already held.

